THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 150 NEW YORK · SATURDAY · APRIL 6, 1940 NUMBER 14

The Shape of Things

THE DISPUTE BETWEEN MAYOR LAGUARDIA and the Transport Workers' Union seemed to be headed toward serious conflict and a possible strike as we went to press. After a conference last week with John L. Lewis the Mayor promised "to recommend" that the Board of Transportation, subject to judicial construction, take over union contracts along with the two private lines soon to come under city operation. But the promise proved worthless. Two of the board's members are strongly anti-union, and the third is an A. F. of L. official—all were appointed by LaGuardia. As was expected, it declined to bargain collectively with the C. I. O. Transport Workers' Union as exclusive bargaining agent, and Lewis was back in town for last-minute conferences as the union prepared to strike. A letter from the Mayor to the union virtually threatens loss of jobs and contract privileges if a strike is called, but the Mayor seems to have left the union no alternative but strike or extinction. On the line already operated by the city the Board of Transportation has always refused to recognize the union as representative of the majority, though it won a majority in State Labor Board elections. The board's chairman, John H. Delaney, would like nothing better than the job of breaking the union on the other two lines when he takes them over. All the Mayor's clever maneuvers and legalistic exegesis have failed to justify his inconsistency in refusing subway workers the basic rights he has advocated for labor elsewhere, or to explain why workers which bargained collectively when the lines were under private ownership should not do so when they are under public control.

✶

PREMIER MOLOTOV'S SPEECH BEFORE THE Supreme Soviet cannot have given much comfort to his Berlin friends for all its heated criticism of the Allies. For he clearly indicated that Russia proposed to remain neutral in the war, and while he denounced various British and French actions as provocative he indicated that the Soviet government would not be easily provoked. Nor did anything he said suggest that Moscow was preparing to enter into closer relations with Germany and Italy in order to regulate the future of the Balkans. He mentioned that the U. S. S. R. had never recognized Rumanian sovereignty over Bessarabia but stated that the question of recovering that province by military means had never been raised. He indicated, however, that Allied military activity in the New East was being watched and that any hostile move would be promptly met. In actual fact it would appear that the Allies have as yet come to no decision about drawing Russia into the war. The French government seems readier to take this step than the British, which wants to be convinced that the forced alignment of Russia with Germany will help and not hinder the campaign against the latter. Thus in his recent radio speech Winston Churchill declared that there was no need for Russia to be drawn into the struggle unless it insisted on throwing its weight to Germany. Unfortunately, there are many possibilities of conflict between the Soviets and the West, especially if the Allies seek to tighten their blockade by persuading Turkey to allow them entry to the Black Sea. There are also likely to be further attempts to prevent Russia from acting as an intermediary for German imports. The enormous increase in Soviet purchases of strategic raw materials in recent months certainly suggests that Russia is making a hole in the Allied blockade.

✶

THE HOUSE HAS INCREASED BY $67,000,000 the amount asked by the Administration for the Labor-Security appropriation bill. But a joker makes it unlikely that the $50,000,000 of this increase which goes to the CCC will ever be spent. And while the House showed exemplary generosity in adding $17,000,000 for the National Youth Administration, it was significantly parsimonious in dealing with both the wage-hour administration and the NLRB. It refused an additional $1,000,000 badly needed to enforce the wage-hour law, and it lopped off the $248,000 required for the maintenance of the NLRB's Division of Economic Research. We hope the Senate will restore the $248,000 and grant the extra funds asked for wage-hour enforcement. The

Published weekly and copyright, 1940, in the U. S. A. by The Nation, Inc., 55 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 18, 1897, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1897.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

press, which gives William M. Leiserson its biggest headlines when he criticizes his colleagues of the Labor Board, buried deep his letter to Congressman Murdock declaring that elimination of the research division would seriously handicap the board's work. The Wagner Act, Leiserson pointed out, "is a remedial and not a penal statute; it empowers the board only to find facts and to order appropriate remedies." How find facts without a fact-finding division? The decisions of the courts provide ample testimony to the usefulness of the Division of Economic Research and its able head, David J. Saposs. The question of his work came squarely before the courts two years ago in the Third Circuit, where particular objection was made to Saposs's testimony as an economic expert. The court upheld the propriety and relevance of his testimony, and the Supreme Court denied a review. The fight to abolish the research division is only the beginning of a broader fight to make "economy" an excuse to reduce the board itself to impotence.

*

NO CONGRESSIONAL INQUIRY IS NEEDED TO discover why Communist leaders are reluctant to divulge their membership lists. In industry, in many schools, and in many offices membership in the Communist Party constitutes ground for dismissal. Mr. Dies knows this, and so does every member of Congress encouraging or condoning his inquisition. The question of whether Communists can legally refuse to disclose the rolls of their party without reprisal is a complex and unsettled one. It is less important than the question of why Mr. Dies has precipitated the issue. The Communist Party is legal, and membership in it is not a criminal offense. Even Martin Dies has verbally conceded its right to existence. But there are more ways to destroy a particular party and civil liberty in general than by official decree. One is to make membership in a minority group equivalent to economic suicide. The other is to eliminate its leaders by a legal *Blitzkrieg*. Mr. Dies seems confident that he has discovered an infallible formula. If the party's leaders bring forth the membership lists, an "index" for reactionary industrialists will be on file, and future recruiting for the party will be shadowed by that fear. If, on the other hand, the Communists defy the demand, as they have thus far done, Mr. Dies vows to "jail every Communist leader in the United States." We don't know who Mr. Dies will select as his next victims if this purge is accomplished. But he has given every warning that the Communists are merely his first prey. We hope that every effort will be made to challenge the legality of the committee's procedure; if it is upheld, radical and liberal groups in America will be confronted with a serious threat to their existence. Will the courts and Congress let Martin Dies continue his one-man crusade against democracy?

THE SACRED RIGHT TO LYNCH NEGROES IS again in danger, and some of the Southern statesmen in the Senate are threatening a filibuster to block a vote on the anti-lynching bill, already passed by the House. The Senate Judiciary Committee voted twelve to four in favor of reporting the bill. Senators Connally, Pittman, Miller, and Chandler made up the minority which stood firm against it. Senator Wagner, who has led the fight in favor of the bill, declared that seventy-three lynchings have occurred during the six years it has been before Congress. The bill would penalize police officers for failing to protect prisoners. Senator Connally, who led the successful filibuster against it in 1937 and again in 1938, calls it "a deliberate affront to the people of the Southern states." The real affront is that a lawless, ignorant, and brutal minority should be identified by Connally and his like with "the people of the Southern states."

*

THERE IS ANOTHER SOUTH THAN THAT represented by the Connallys and the Bilbos, and it is reflected in the popular support and subscriptions that have made it possible for George Fort Milton to begin publication of the new *Evening Tribune* in Chattanooga, Tennessee. The *Tribune* made its appearance on March 25, just 100 days after the Chattanooga *News* ceased publication. Under Mr. Milton's editorship the *News* had been one of the outstanding papers of the South. It fought for public power. It campaigned against lynching. It exposed political corruptionists. It befriended labor. But a technical default on its bonds gave its anti-New Deal and power-trust enemies the chance they had long sought to put it out of business. The advertising columns of the new paper indicate the existence in Chattanooga of enlightened business interests prepared to support an independent and liberal paper. Best of luck to the new enterprise!

*

THE CANADIAN GENERAL ELECTION GAVE a new lease of power to the Liberal Party and its leader, Mr. Mackenzie King, whose political astuteness and sense of timing none can deny. His triumph was greatly assisted by the incompetence of the Conservatives. They proved unable to develop any definite program beyond a vague proposal for a "national government," and while they sought hard to "expose" the wrongdoings of the Liberal administration, they neglected genuine grievances such as wholesale abrogation of civil liberties, for which the war has served as excuse. In the circumstances it is not surprising that the voters should have preferred not to swap horses while at war. Mr. King's victory places him in a position of almost uncontrolled power. This is unlikely, however, to lead to any permanent undermining of Canadian democracy, for by temperament

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

he is a political manipulator rather than a dictator. Moreover, the Liberal Party is not an entirely cohesive body and might split under pressure. For the moment, however, Mr. Hepburn, the leading potential rebel, has retired to the sidelines with his own prestige rather damaged by the wholly negative reactions of the country to his onslaughts on Mr. King.

*

LITTLE BY LITTLE CATHOLIC PRESSURE IS undermining secular education in New York State. The first step was passage of a bill providing state funds for buses to parochial schools. The second is the McLaughlin bill just passed by the legislature to permit children to be excused from regular classes for religious observance and instruction. The objection, as stated by Norman Thomas in a public protest, is not to religious instruction but to the use of school time for non-school purposes, the accentuation of religious differences, and the encroachment on basic American principles. There can be no secure freedom of religion without separation of church and state. Separation of church and state requires secular education. Those who do not like secular education are free to establish schools of their own. But the Catholic church in New York is not content with its parochial schools. It wants to invade the public schools too.

Bullitt, Kennedy, and Goebbels

THE first question prompted by the publication of the German "White Book" is whether the documents which it contains are genuine; the second and more important one is what ends its sponsors hope it will serve. Clearly the action of the German Foreign Office was not motivated by a disinterested desire to contribute to diplomatic history. True or false, the purpose of the publication was propaganda, and it was intended to produce definite effects in this country and perhaps in others as well.

Before discussing this aspect of the case, however, it may be useful to examine the evidence for and against the authenticity of the documents which are said to have been found in the abandoned archives of the Polish Foreign Office. Those which concern us chiefly are reports supposed to have been written by the Polish ambassadors in Washington, Rome, and Paris containing accounts of interviews with William C. Bullitt and Joseph P. Kennedy. There is also a very curious review of American opinion stated to have been sent by Ambassador Potocki in Washington to the Polish Foreign Minister on January 12, 1939. This reads like a stock report of a Nazi agent and, if genuine, reveals its author not only as a crude anti-Semite but as a purveyor to his own government of such misinformation as the statement that "almost 100 per cent of radio, films, press, and periodicals" in this country is owned by Jews. This particular document looks as if it had at least been very freely edited. On the other hand, the alleged conversations with Bill Bullitt certainly reflect the known sentiments of our ebullient Ambassador to France, and since he notoriously is the soul of indiscretion, it is not unthinkable that he would have used some of the expressions quoted. It is a little hard to believe, however, that he would give Mr. Kennedy orders to put the heat on Premier Chamberlain about giving assistance to Poland or that the latter would have meekly complied with such commands. Further, these documents picture Mr. Kennedy, who hitherto has been considered a proponent of appeasement, in early 1939 aiding and abetting Mr. Bullitt in pushing Britain into taking a strong line against Germany.

Against anomalies such as these, which raise doubts about the "White Book," must be set the fact that wholesale forgery of documents is a delicate and dangerous business which even a propagandist as ingenious and resourceful as Goebbels might hesitate to undertake. And, it must be admitted, the denials of their truth which have come from all concerned are conventional rather than convincing. Until further information is available the only safe verdict appears to be that the authenticity or otherwise of the documents is "not proven."

In releasing this material at just this moment the Nazi government is probably attempting to fortify its propaganda front in several different directions. The disparaging remarks about Russia and Italy attributed to Bullitt, together with the suggestion that he was encouraging conflict between Russia and Germany, are perhaps intended to strengthen bonds with Rome and Moscow. Again, the revelations that Bullitt and Kennedy had been urging the Chamberlain government to make no further concessions to Germany are perhaps intended to increase reported British irritation at the lukewarmness of American "moral support," and hence to feed "anti-war" sentiment.

The major propaganda objective, however, is undoubtedly the bolstering of American isolationist feeling. Possibly publication was held back in the hope that Mr. Roosevelt could be persuaded to act as godparent to a German "peace" plan. But the conclusion of Mr. Welles's mission has dispelled any such hopes. Meanwhile the primary campaigns are warming up, and assorted movements to "keep America out of war" are increasingly vociferous. To the experts in the German Ministry of Propaganda the time must have seemed ripe for delivering fresh ammunition to those elements, right and left, in this country, engaged in ceaseless efforts to smear the President as a "war-monger." But while Hamilton Fish

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

has eagerly seized on the Nazi hand-out and suggested that it may form a basis for impeachment of the President, more responsible isolationists in Congress have adopted an attitude of reserve. They know that support from Berlin is likely to embarrass rather than forward their endeavors to keep America out of war, for there is nothing the American people are more likely to resent than Nazi attempts to interfere with domestic politics.

Behind the Russell Case

> The habit of considering a man's religious, moral, and political opinions before appointing him to a post or giving him a job is the modern form of persecution, and it is likely to become quite as efficient as the Inquisition ever was.—Bertrand Russell: "Free Thought and Official Propaganda" (1922).

WHAT Bertrand Russell said in 1922 has proved prophetic in his own case. The decision of Justice McGeehan of the New York Supreme Court forbidding him to teach at City College is a reflection of the same bigotry and in part of the same religious forces that created the Inquisition. Russell's views on marriage are held to make him unfit to give instruction in the logic of mathematics. Justice McGeehan's decision, on the Tammany Hall level of profundity and culture, expresses "disgust" with carefully culled selections from Russell's writings; history affords many examples of the paradox that it is often the most moral of men who are accused of immorality. Leading the pack against Russell are such institutions as the Hearst press, which is so delicate in exploiting the sex irregularities and nudity Russell is supposed to advocate.

The Russell case would be fit material for the gusto of a Rabelais or the contempt of a Swift, and one might greet it with laughter if it were not an attempt to poison free education in New York State. Behind the rallying of the prurient, the self-righteous, the ecclesiastical demagogues, and the high moralists of Tammany Hall are more dangerous and more farsighted forces. Only recently Hague's protege and Coughlin's North Jersey mouthpiece, John A. Matthews, warned the annual communion breakfast of the Wall Street branch of the Anchor Club of America against "the camouflage cloak of academic freedom" in the Russell case. And last August the New York State Chamber of Commerce in a notorious report called for more religion and less education in the schools. "A review of history," the Chamber of Commerce declared, in its best Nürnberg accents, "indicates that as culture rises, morals and physical well-being go down and that often the destruction or disintegration of the state has followed." The Chamber of Commerce questioned the wisdom of free general instruction beyond the literacy point. The church wants religion taught in the schools. The Russell case is a blessing to both. It links their campaign with sanctity and sex, and the New York State Legislature as a result of the uproar has already authorized an investigation into the doctrines taught in New York's schools. There is good reason for calling Friday night's Carnegie Hall mass-meeting on the Russell case a "Citizens' Rally in Answer to the Attack on Public Education."

The nation's largest city is now the scene of a struggle which differs only in its proportions from the Tennessee monkey trial. An undistinguished jurist has catapulted himself into the limelight with a decision that illustrates the power of the legal mind to distort and misrepresent. A specious argument is presented for the right of the courts to interfere with the Board of Higher Education. It is admitted that Russell was to teach mathematics, not ethics or sex. Nevertheless, McGeehan finds that the English "alien's" very presence, his very ability and charm, would make him a dangerous moral influence. The judge disavows any intention to interfere with the board "in so far as a pure question of 'valid' academic freedom is concerned"—whatever that means—but will not tolerate use of academic freedom "to promote the popularization in the minds of adolescents of acts forbidden by the penal law." City College, in effect, would be establishing "a chair of indecency" if it invited one of the world's outstanding mathematicians to teach within its walls. So says Justice McGeehan and so says Mrs. Grundy. It is up to the higher courts to reverse Justice McGeehan and to enlightened elements to rebuke Mrs. Grundy. The Russell case is the first battle in a well-planned attack on public education.

British Morale

THE long-prophesied spring offensive on the western front shows no sign of materializing; Göring's threat of massed bombers over Britain has yet to be translated into action. In London and Paris there is much talk of a more active war policy, but Allied efforts are likely to be confined to the spheres of economics and diplomacy, for a feasible battleground is not in sight. Thus it is very possible that fine weather will bring fewer changes in the pattern of warfare than had been expected, and that blockade and propaganda will continue to play a more important part than military tactics.

The Nazis lately have been telling the world that they are prepared for an indefinite siege, that the blockade is ineffective, and that the longer the war goes on the better they will be able to organize their supply bases in Russia and the Balkans. These claims seem to have impressed a good many of the "experts" in this country, but to our mind they suggest more than a taste of sour grapes. For they involve acquiescence in, and adjustment to, a strategy

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

imposed by the Allies instead of the development of one conditioned by German military superiority. The Allies' margin of power at sea is as undeniable as their greater command over economic resources, however generously Russian aid to Germany is estimated.

It may be argued, however, that in siege warfare the question of morale is paramount, and the recent manifestations of hostility to the war in Britain can be cited as evidence both of growing defeatism in the Allied camp and of the effective use by the Nazis of their most potent weapon—propaganda. On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that any corresponding feelings which may exist in Germany have no open means of expression. Opposition to the war or the regime cannot be voiced in meetings or the press. But it can be made manifest by apathy, and that, according to qualified observers, is widespread. Anne O'Hare McCormick recently reported in the New York *Times* a lack of enthusiasm among the workers of the Ruhr resulting in absenteeism on a scale which nullified all efforts to prevent it by the provision of severe penalties.

In Britain, by contrast, the war has brought practically no restrictions on the liberty of speech or press. The safety valves for popular discontent are wide open, and the noise of the escaping steam may receive more attention than it strictly deserves. In our own press recently a good deal of prominence has been given to anti-war resolutions passed by the Independent Labor Party and other working-class bodies. The I. L. P. played an important part in organizing opposition to the last war, but since that time it has splintered so often that it is but a shadow of its former self, with a membership of only about 7,000. Moreover, the resolution of which its annual conference approved, while demanding the end of the war, also called for cooperation among neutrals in peace negotiations with Germany whenever the latter was prepared to restore the independence of Poland, Austria, and Czechoslovakia. These apparently contradictory desires hardly suggest a keen sense of international realities.

At first sight, the support given at a Cooperative Party conference to an anti-war resolution by delegates representing 1,323,000 members appears more impressive, even though it was defeated by two to one. But this party is one of those mass organizations in which only a tiny fraction of the nominal membership takes an active part, and it is often possible for its locals to be captured by a handful of energetic politicians. By way of contrast, the fate of a similar resolution at a delegate conference of the South Wales Miners' Federation may be mentioned. For this union has a militant and very active membership, and in addition its able and greatly respected president is a Communist. Nevertheless, it rejected the "party line" on the war issue by three to one. Further evidence of the fact that the noise made by anti-war propaganda in Britain is out of proportion to its actual popular strength is provided by the insignificant polls of pacifists at most recent by-elections.

This does not mean that the British workers are content with the Chamberlain government. On the contrary, they have many and legitimate grievances which are constantly aired in Parliament by the Labor opposition. But it would be as unsafe for Berlin to assume that this grumbling portends a collapse in British morale as it would be for Moscow to suppose that the British revolution is just around the corner.

Japan's Puppet

WANG CHING-WEI was formally installed as head of Japan's new puppet government at Nanking on March 30, after months of delay. The ceremony was an elaborate one, for the Japanese yield to no one in the art of puppetry. But it is difficult to see just what purpose the Japanese had in mind in staging the elaborate event. Some months ago they doubtless hoped that the establishment of a central government under as prominent a Chinese as Wang would attract a degree of Chinese support, at least in the occupied areas. This hope was dissipated with the defection of Wang's closest supporters and the premature revelation of the terms of his agreement with Japan. As it was, the inauguration of the new regime was greeted by a slow-down strike at Shanghai and general derision throughout the whole of China.

Since the Japanese can hardly have expected any other Chinese reaction, it is necessary to look elsewhere for an explanation of the establishment of what would seem to be a superfluous piece of governmental apparatus. One explanation frequently heard is that the Japanese are playing for foreign support. There is no indication, however, that any country save Italy, and possibly Germany, will extend recognition to the Wang "government." Certainly no one in Tokyo could have thought for a moment that the United States would be bamboozled by the hocus-pocus at Nanking. And there seems little chance that Great Britain, France, the Soviet Union, or any other important country will in any way alter its policies in the Far East because a streamlined 1940 puppet has been set up to replace the somewhat shopworn regional puppets.

The new regime would seem to be Japan's answer to the abrogation of the American trade treaty. Nothing that Japan could have done would have more clearly reflected its contemptuous disregard of the United States. This country abrogated the trade treaty because Japan repeatedly infringed the treaty rights of Americans in China. Although we have perhaps been less explicit about it than we should have been, the basis of America's policy

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

has been the maintenance of China's territorial and administrative integrity as guaranteed by the Nine-Power Pact. The Japanese invasion was in direct opposition to our policy, but it was always possible for the Japanese to maintain that any interference with American rights resulting from the invasion was a temporary mishap due to the exigencies of warfare. Japan never formally repudiated the Nine-Power Pact, taking the position that its occupation was merely a transitory stage in the establishment of the New Order in Asia. The setting up of the Wang Ching-wei regime represents a direct rebuff to America's policy and an effort to give legal sanction to the Japanese military occupation of China's coastal regions. Japan will not, of course, repudiate the Nine-Power Pact or close the Open Door. The dirty work will be done at Nanking, and Tokyo will merely give its assent to independent "Chinese" action.

During the ten weeks that have passed since the expiration of the trade treaty Congress has cautiously waited to see what Japan would do next. Japan has now given its answer. It is going ahead with its program of reducing China to a colonial status, freezing out Western interests regardless of our protests. This puts the issue squarely up to Congress.

Notes on Puerto Rico, IV

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

I HAVEN'T any idea whether or not Puerto Rico wants independence. No representative body has ever voted on the issue; no referendum has been held. About a year ago an economic congress in San Juan, made up largely of conservative business men and delegates from professional organizations, unanimously adopted a resolution favoring self-determination. I think the meeting was rather steam-rollered into unanimity by its more progressive leaders, but the vote probably reflected majority opinion at least. And it showed that while representative Puerto Ricans may not know what they want, they at least know that they don't want what they have. Puerto Rico is neither colony nor incorporated territory, neither state nor free government; it is a part of the United States but a dependent, inferior part. This it resents.

I am convinced that the present difficult, touchy relationship between Puerto Rico and the United States will never be ended until the island is given an opportunity to formulate and express its opinion on its own future status.

One thing is sure. Only the Nationalists—a handful of followers of Pedro Albizu Campos, now in Atlanta Penitentiary serving a ten-year sentence for sedition—want unconditional independence. Most of the supporters of Puerto Rican freedom with whom I talked believe that the island's present free-trade relations with the United States should be continued by treaty. They know it could not survive an abrupt ending of its present trade advantages, and they argue that the relationship must be profitable to the United States or it would not exist. At the same time freedom would make possible trade treaties with other nations. Advocates of statehood want Puerto Rico to come into the Union on terms which will continue its present exclusive control over its own revenues, but will not limit its rights as a state. This, they admit, would involve amendment of the Constitution. Conservatives generally believe that the present status, however ambiguous, best meets the needs of a dependent economic entity, and they emphasize the privileges and financial benefits that would be wiped out by either statehood or separation. A few people suggest the possibility of working out some sort of dominion status to give the island the economic protection it needs along with more complete self-government. But the whole question bristles with complexities that can only be resolved by the most earnest, disinterested efforts of intelligent Puerto Ricans and Americans. The animosities aroused by the terrorist tactics of the Nationalists and the repressive measures of the authorities, ending in the tragic blunder at Ponce, prevented any helpful collaboration during Governor Winship's regime. Now, under happier auspices, a solution might be possible.

Puerto Ricans like Governor Leahy. I talked to all sorts—to Luis Muñoz Marín, leader of the new Partido Popular Democrático; to Don Manuel Dominech, a respected and honest conservative and the Governor's financial adviser; to radical students in the university; to Americans in government jobs. Without a single exception, they spoke well of the new governor. The only criticism I heard was from one or two persons who feared that, in an honest desire to respect the island's democratic processes, Governor Leahy might allow the politicians to get away with practices that ought to be stopped. Radicals said, "He actually seems to believe in the Bill of Rights." When Admiral Leahy's appointment was announced, *The Nation* objected to the selection of a naval man for the post. A professor at the University of Puerto Rico told me that liberals on the island had taken the same attitude. "We'd had enough military rule on the island," he said. But Governor Leahy has conducted a strictly civilian administration. "He seems to look upon his office as a job and not as a title," said this observer. "He works at it. He has set about mastering the island's situation—economic, political, even cultural. Everyone is surprised and pleased. If he keeps on as he has begun he may do great things for Puerto Rico."

I talked to the Governor and Mrs. Leahy on the porch of their small temporary quarters beside the magnificent Fortaleza, now under repair. He struck me as a straight-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

forward, pleasant, but business-like and hard-headed person. He talked realistically about the economic ills of Puerto Rico and sympathetically about the efforts being made to cure them. I think he is conservative, but he is open-minded as well. I don't believe the local politicians will fool him; I doubt if reactionary business interests will control him. Above all, he is not afraid. I shall be astonished and disappointed if he ever acts out of panic, no matter what the provocation. He would be firm, perhaps hard, in case of disorder or terrorist acts. But he would not go in for hysterics. This in itself promises a welcome change. Governor Winship was a frightened man from the tragic day when Colonel E. Francis Riggs, Insular Chief of Police, was assassinated by two Nationalist fanatics. I asked the Governor how he proposed to handle Nationalist agitation. "We let them meet and talk, and we keep an eye on them," he said. He himself is carefully protected. When he went out of his garden and drove up to the gate of the Fortaleza to show us the reconstruction now under way he said that it was the first time he had escaped without his bodyguard. "He'll find out where I am and trail me. You'll see," he remarked. We climbed all over the ancient palace, and when we came out the Governor saw us to our car. As he closed the door he pointed to a man in plain clothes standing across the street. "There he is," he said.

No one, least of all himself, expects the Governor to redeem and revolutionize an island suffering from the assorted ills that afflict Puerto Rico. But he can do more than would appear on the surface. In the first place he can see to it that Puerto Rico continues to get a fair share of federal funds for relief and reconstruction. He can use his appointive power to put and keep in office department heads who are honest and above factional struggles and back them when they come into collision with intrenched political interests. He can use the whole weight of his office to protect the civil rights of the people. In this connection it is to be hoped that he will soon get rid of the present Chief of Police, who was appointed after the death of Colonel Riggs and has become a symbol of corruption and brutality throughout the island.

The Governor can also use his great influence to bring about some progress toward a solution of Puerto Rico's basic political problem—its relationship to the United States. It may as well be admitted that complete independence for Puerto Rico is not a practical possibility at a time when the island is being rapidly developed as a major military outpost. Time and again I said this to Puerto Rican supporters of independence and was met by the logical but wholly unrealistic answer that Cuba was a separate nation despite the naval base at Guantanamo.

Independence would not be granted now even if it were demanded; and in my opinion it is not generally desired. But neither can relations be safely left as they are. Even the interests of national defense will be served if the poison is drawn out of the relations between Puerto Rico and the power that rules it. Governor Leahy would perform a lasting service if he would call a conference to consider and report on a new status for Puerto Rico. It should be composed of both Americans and Puerto Ricans chosen with no regard for their political connections but entirely on the basis of disinterested knowledge and understanding. There should be experts in constitutional government, economics, and international law, as well as representatives of business and labor and persons interested primarily in Latin American cultural relations. I would gladly supply a list of American delegates! Charles Beard, Edward Mead Earle, Archibald MacLeish, and Arthur Garfield Hays are samples of the sort I would appoint. The findings of such a body would have only the weight of honesty and expert knowledge to back them, but I am certain they would be welcomed in Puerto Rico as a basis for discussion and in Congress as a basis for future legislative action. No disingenuous Tydings bill would emerge from such a conference.

CONTENTS

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 433

EDITORIALS:

BULLITT, KENNEDY, AND GOEBBELS 435
BEHIND THE RUSSELL CASE 436
BRITISH MORALE 436
JAPAN'S PUPPET 437
NOTES ON PUERTO RICO, IV by Freda Kirchwey 438

CONGRESS EDITS THE BUDGET by Kenneth G. Crawford 440

TALE OF TWO WARS by Robert Dell 441

THE KLAN RIDES AGAIN by Richard H. Rovere 445

HOW ABOUT TELEVISION? by Edgar M. Jones 447

IN THE WIND 449

ISSUES AND MEN by Oswald Garrison Villard 450

BOOKS AND THE ARTS:

NOTES BY THE WAY by Margaret Marshall 451
INSIDE GERMANY by Franz Hoellering 452
THE UNCONSTRAINING VOICE by John Peale Bishop 452
THE WEARING OF THE GREEN IN THE GREEN ROOM by Robert Vambery 454
SCIENCE IN SOCIETY by Benjamin Harrow 454
CHINA OLD AND NEW by Maxwell S. Stewart 456
DEATH CHAMBER by George Joel 456
DRAMA: AFTER TWENTY YEARS by Joseph Wood Krutch 457
MUSIC by B. H. Haggin 458

Editor and Publisher
FREDA KIRCHWEY

Managing Editor ROBERT BENDINER
Literary Editor MARGARET MARSHALL

Associate Editors
KEITH HUTCHISON MAXWELL S. STEWART I. F. STONE

Assistant Editor
JAMES WECHSLER

Dramatic Critic
JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

*

Business Manager and Director of Circulation
HUGO VAN ARX

Advertising Manager
MURIEL GRAY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Congress Edits the Budget

BY KENNETH G. CRAWFORD

Washington, April 1

NO ONE in Washington was surprised—least of all, it can be assumed, the President himself—when the Congressional farm bloc fed his 1940-41 budget to the hogs. And no one except the economy fanatics of the House Appropriations Committee seemed to care very much. Indeed, an almost audible sigh of relief escaped the rank-and-file membership of both branches when the Senate added $300,000,000 to the Department of Agriculture's appropriation bill, thus wiping out at one stroke all the economies so laboriously effected in the seven supply bills previously passed. The President's ingenious budget message was at last a dead letter. Republicans and Democrats were equally responsible for its long overdue demise, and everyone was relieved. The lid was off and Congressmen could be themselves, behaving again as they have always behaved in election years.

The House immediately took advantage of its new freedom to add $17,450,000 to the National Youth Administration's appropriation and $50,000,000 to that of the Civilian Conservation Corps. These popular agencies no longer had to be starved once the farm lobby had shown how unimportant economy could be when an effective pressure group got to work. Yet economy was still important enough to serve as an excuse for cutting down the appropriations of the National Labor Relations Board and the Wage-Hour Division of the Department of Labor. A total of about $1,250,000 was taken away from these two agencies—not a large saving but enough to weaken at vital points the enforcement structure protecting labor's minimum standards and its collective-bargaining privilege. This would please industrial campaign contributors almost as much as the farm hand-out would please rural voters. Since labor divided was not considered dangerous, it could be safely ignored by Congress in the process of budget revision.

The President's January budget, it will be remembered, called for expenditures of $8,464,000,000 in fiscal 1941, a substantially smaller total than the current year's. Mr. Roosevelt proposed to hold the next deficit down to $1,716,000,000 by discontinuing farm parity payments and thus saving some $200,000,000, by firing 600,000 WPA employees to save another $500,000,000, by snatching back $700,000,000 of unexpended balances from New Deal agencies, and by stiffening the revenue laws to increase income $460,000,000 a year. If all these things were done, the government could finance the President's big armament program without breaking through the $45,000,000,000 statutory debt limit.

From the point of view of the New Deal itself, this budget was a monstrosity. The President admitted in his message that his estimates for unemployment and farm relief might prove inadequate. New Deal economists were sure they would. The whole thing seemed to be a political stratagem not to be taken seriously as an economic document. What the President was trying to do, apparently, was force Congress to accept responsibility for raising the debt limit and for another inevitably large deficit at a time when polls of public opinion were showing overwhelming public sentiment for frugality in government. Knowing Congress as he does the President could have had no illusions about the possibility of getting a tax bill passed on the eve of a national election. And knowing in a general way about what the Allies would buy in this country in the first few months of the war, he could scarcely have expected a business boom of proportions sufficient to justify a one-third cut in relief appropriations. Events have shown both that Congress will not swallow new taxes and that war exports, large as they are, cannot sustain a rapid recovery movement without the supplementary stimulus of government spending.

For almost three months the House played with the President at his own game. Appropriations for the regular departments were systematically cut even below his close estimates. Anti-New Dealers in both parties, under the foxy leadership of Representative Clifton Woodrum of Virginia, held a majority by assuring members that "he can't do that to us." It was the Senate that finally capitulated. It voted sixty-three to nineteen to add $212,000,000 for farm parity payments and seventy-nine to nothing to throw in $85,000,000 for surplus-crop removal. Even the Glasses and Tafts went along on the latter item. Put to the farm test, the toughest of the economizers caved in. The President's tactics had been successful.

The all-important question now is what the breaking of the ice will mean to the unemployed. WPA officials estimate that a minimum of $1,500,000,000 is needed. There is a possibility of compromise in the suggestion that the figure be held at $1,000,000,000, with the so-called Woodrum amendment, the section of the present law forbidding deficiency relief appropriations, removed. Such an arrangement would permit the WPA to spend the entire fund, if necessary, in the first seven months

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the new fiscal year and then ask the incoming Congress for a supplemental appropriation. But as yet there is no assurance that Congress will do for the unemployed what it has done for the farmers. Reports of a log-rolling deal between urban and rural representatives should not be taken too seriously. City members have thought they were trading farm-relief votes for WPA support before, only to find that the country brothers, once they had theirs, forgot all about the bargain. Most city liberals vote for farm relief on principle, whereas many rural representatives find it politically profitable to be pump-primers on the farm and economizers in town.

Moreover, the Woodrum crowd still has a terrible weapon in the threat of legislation raising the debt limit or imposing new taxes at this session. Actually there will be no need for such legislation unless Congress goes hog wild on spending. Income-tax collections for March were more than $600,000,000 better than last year, exceeding estimates. The stabilization fund and various other nest eggs are still available if worst comes to worst, although Secretary Morgenthau insists that there will be no tricks. Since European orders for airplanes and ordnance are keeping American producers in practice, the President's army appropriations can be cut substantially without jeopardizing defense. There will be no excuse for an inadequate relief appropriation unless Congress accepts Dorothy Thompson's unemployment figures instead of the experts'.

Whatever budget Congress finally evolves, it cannot be worse than the President's and in most respects it will probably be better. Nobody will ever know for sure whether the President got more by forcing Congress to take the initiative than he might have by submitting higher estimates in the first place and then defending them openly.

Tale of Two Wars

BY ROBERT DELL

DOROTHY THOMPSON recently remarked in an admirable article on the propaganda obsession with which America is at present afflicted that it made people incapable of distinguishing between what is true and what is false, and that its victims would probably end in being taken in, as over-suspicious people usually do. A great deal of what is being written to prove that the present war is merely a continuation of the first World War seems to me to support Miss Thompson.

I agree that the present war is no more "ideological" than the last one, but I would remind those who are addicted to hunting for parallels that it was Woodrow Wilson who started the slogan about a war "to make the world safe for democracy." Naturally the English and French adopted a slogan so likely to appeal to American sentiment, but I cannot remember that anybody in Europe talked about a war for democracy before Mr. Wilson did. The English said in 1914 that they went to war to save "gallant little Belgium"—which, so far as the mass of the English people was concerned, was true—and the French said that they went to war because Germany declared war on them, which was true. I cannot, however, agree that "this new war began as the last one did—in a clash between German and Anglo-French imperialism." No two wars could be more different in their origins and antecedents.

So far as its immediate origin was concerned, the first World War was primarily a war between Austria and Russia and secondarily a war between England and Germany, into which France was dragged by the Franco-Russian alliance and the Entente Cordiale. The Austrian government had long been seeking an occasion to pick a quarrel with Russia. In 1912 I was in close touch with the Polish Nationalists in Paris, and they told me all about their arrangements with the Austrian government with respect to the future war. The Austrian government promised the Poles that, in the event of an Austrian victory over Russia, it would restore Polish independence and set up a Polish national state composed of Austrian and Russian Poland. In return Pilsudski undertook to raise a Polish legion which would fight with the Austrian army, as in fact it did when war broke out in 1914.

Until 1904 England and France were on very bad terms. More than once they had been on the verge of war, notably over the Fashoda affair, which would have led to war had not the French government climbed down. In 1889 Bismarck offered an alliance to Salisbury, who was then British Prime Minister, and the offer was refused. A few years later, after Bismarck's dismissal by the Emperor William II, Salisbury and Joseph Chamberlain, father of the present British Prime Minister, whose pro-German sympathies are inherited, offered an alliance to Germany. The German Emperor refused the offer on the advice of Holstein, then permanent head of the German Foreign Office, who said that England would never be able to come to terms with France or Russia and therefore an alliance was unnecessary. A subsidiary reason for the refusal was that the Emperor

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was anti-English and pro-French and would have much preferred an alliance with France. He actually offered one to the Waldeck-Rousseau Cabinet soon after the beginning of the Transvaal war. The offer was favorably received, especially by Théophile Delcassé, the French Foreign Minister, who afterward became an ardent partisan of the Entente Cordiale, but who was at that time smarting under the humiliation that he had been obliged to accept in the Fashoda affair. The negotiations fell through because the German government insisted that France should renounce Alsace-Lorraine forever, and that was something no French government could do.

In 1901 Lord Lansdowne made overtures to Eckardstein for a "defensive arrangement," because he understood that Holstein disliked the word "alliance." Holstein made a counter-proposal that England should join the Triple Alliance together with Japan, in return for which Germany would guarantee the British Empire. Naturally, this was a proposal that no British government could accept. It would have involved England in almost every possible war and put the whole European continent under German domination.

Finally, Lansdowne and the British Cabinet in which he was Foreign Secretary decided to come to terms with France. The result was the Entente Cordiale, sealed in April, 1904, by the Anglo-French treaty concerning Egypt, Morocco, and other questions in dispute between the two countries. The treaty professed to guarantee the independence of Egypt and Morocco but contained secret clauses by which England was given a free hand in Egypt and France in Morocco whenever they agreed to avail themselves of it. The Entente Cordiale was welcomed by the parties of the left in France, in particular by Jaurès and the Socialists, who of course knew nothing about the secret clauses of the treaty, because they hoped that it would detach France from Russia. In fact it was converted by Edward Grey, who became British Foreign Secretary in 1905, into the Triple Entente, which bound France to Russia more closely than ever.

The secret clauses in the Treaty of April, 1904, became known to the German government. They had been communicated to Russia as the ally of France, and the German Emperor was probably informed about them by the Czar. Hence the Franco-German incidents over Morocco which thrice brought France and Germany to the verge of war.

From 1904 to 1914 French foreign policy was dominated by England almost as much as it has been during the last seven years. The exceptions to this rule were short periods during which first Rouvier, later Joseph Caillaux, was Prime Minister of France. In 1905, when the first Franco-German crisis over Morocco occurred, Lansdowne offered an alliance to Delcassé, who was still French Foreign Minister. Rouvier, supported by the whole Cabinet with the exception of Delcassé, refused the offer on the ground that it would drag France into war with Germany, and Delcassé was forced to resign. In 1911 Caillaux settled the still more serious Agadir crisis by a treaty with Germany which gave France complete control of Morocco in return for a small piece of the French Congo. He was driven from office by Poincaré and Clemenceau and incurred the hatred of the British Foreign Office because the result of the Franco-German treaty was that the secret clauses of the Anglo-French treaty of April, 1904, fell to the ground. The text of the clauses was published by Caillaux, before he left office, with the consent of the British government.

Through all these years the overwhelming majority of the French people were intensely pacific and strongly opposed to a war with Germany even for the sake of recovering Alsace-Lorraine. The party of revenge, led by Poincaré and Clemenceau, was a small minority, but it was an influential one and was consistently backed by British diplomacy. After Poincaré became French Prime Minister in 1912—a year before he was elected President of the Republic—he was less subservient to England than most of his predecessors had been. At the time of the late Lord Haldane's visit to Berlin, the German government asked the British government to undertake to remain neutral in any war in which Germany might be engaged. Such an undertaking was naturally impossible. The German government modified it and asked merely that England should remain neutral if Germany were attacked by another country. Poincaré informed Grey that if such an undertaking were given he would break the Entente Cordiale, and the German proposal was rejected.

It is necessary to distinguish between the attitude of the government and of the mass of the English people. Grey and his advisers in the Foreign Office wanted a preventive war with Germany, and there can be no doubt that German policy, especially naval policy, was a menace to the British Empire. It also forced England to spend enormous sums on the navy. It was a foolish policy on the part of the German government, for Germany, a much poorer country than England, could not possibly maintain a navy equal to the British navy in addition to the largest army in the world.

Public opinion in England in 1914 was as much opposed to war as in France. On July 30, 1914, a member of the British Cabinet said to a friend of mine that if the government went to war with Germany, it would be turned out by the House of Commons. Lloyd George was the leader of the opposition to war. At a Cabinet council held on August 2, 1914, his view prevailed, and the Cabinet decided to remain neutral, whereupon Grey tendered his resignation as Foreign Secretary. After the German invasion of Belgium the decision was reversed, and Lloyd George supported the war. John Burns and two or three other members of the government resigned.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nothing but the violation of Belgian neutrality would ever have rallied the English people to the war. Grey knew it, and it was for that reason that when he was asked by the German ambassador to London whether England would remain neutral if Germany did not go through Belgium, he refused to reply, that is, in effect, replied in the negative. Grey wished the Germans to go through Belgium in the event of war. The war aims of the British government were to destroy the German fleet and to prevent French and Belgian ports from falling into the hands of Germany. The war aim of the English people, as has been said, was to go to the aid of Belgium.

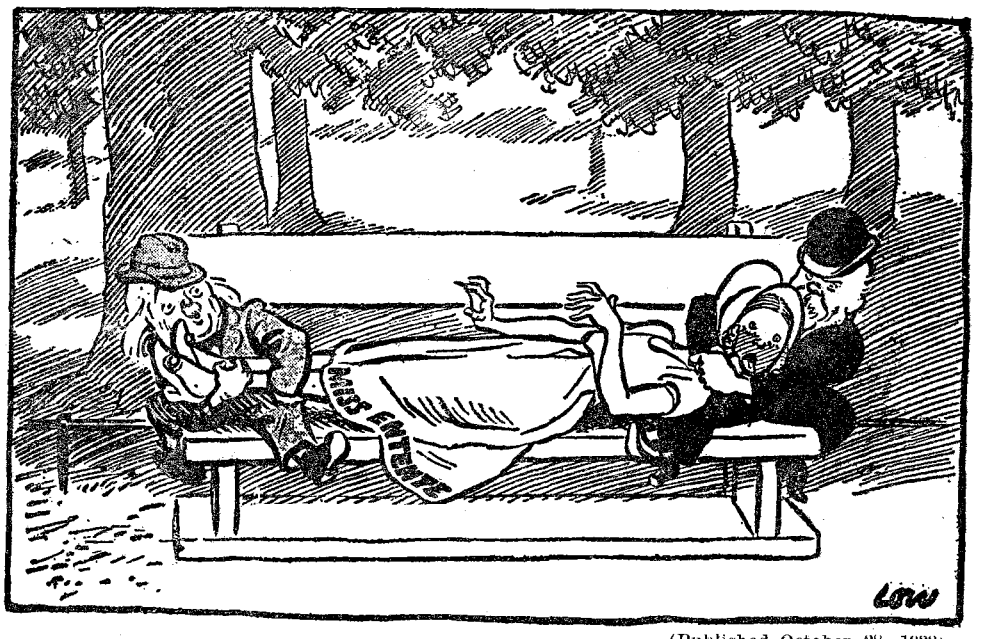
In July, 1914, French opinion was overwhelmingly opposed to war for the sake of Russia. On Sunday, July 19, 1914, there was a huge demonstration against war on the Grands Boulevards in Paris, and the members of the Action Française who organized a counter-demonstration were driven off the boulevards. Poincaré had undoubtedly a great responsibility for the war. During his visit to Russia in July, 1914, he encouraged the Russian government in a bellicose attitude, and it was with the consent of the French government that the Russian government ordered a general mobilization before any other country and thus provoked the German government to declare war on Russia. Poincaré then wished to declare war on Germany, but he was overruled by the Prime Minister, René Viviani, and the Cabinet.

The French general mobilization was ordered on August 1, 1914, but on August 3 Viviani gave an undertaking to the Socialist Party that France would not declare war on Germany in any circumstances. Naturally he knew it to be probable that Germany would declare war on France, but in my opinion he would have kept his word if the German government had not made that blunder. It was as great a blunder from the political point of view as the violation of Belgian neutrality. One reason why I think that Viviani would have kept his word is that, if France had declared war on Germany, there would have been such strong opposition to the war that the government might have been defeated in the Chamber of Deputies. In any case France would have entered the war as a divided country. The German declaration of war on France naturally rallied the overwhelming majority of the French people to the war.

The German Emperor did not want war with France. He first offered to withdraw his troops from the French frontier and abstain from attacking France if the French government would remain neutral, but only on condition that Germany should be allowed to occupy a piece of French territory for the duration of the war. Naturally the French government could not agree to such a condition, but when it was refused, the German Emperor telegraphed to the King of England (George V) undertaking to withdraw his troops from the French frontier and refrain from attacking France if France would remain neutral and England would guarantee its neutrality. Grey told the House of Commons, after England had declared war on Germany, that he had not transmitted this offer to the French government because he thought that the Franco-Russian alliance made it impossible for France to remain neutral!

Can anybody seriously maintain that there is any resemblance between this story and that of the events that led up to the present war? In 1914 Europe had for several years been divided into two hostile camps—on one side the Triple Alliance and on the other side the Triple Entente. In the seven years preceding the present war the British government refused to join in any collective-security agreement on the ground that Europe must not be divided into hostile camps, with the result that, as Winston Churchill said on a famous occasion, there was a bloc on one side—that of the totalitarian states—and a rabble on the other.

There was certainly no conflict between German and Anglo-French imperialism from the end of the last war to March, 1939. There was, in fact, no Anglo-French imperialism. The French are nationalist but, with the



(Published October 28, 1922)

With the militant Poincaré at one end and the demobilized Lloyd George at the other, the Entente became at times somewhat strained

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

exception of a small minority, not imperialist. The few imperialists in France are always complaining that the French people take no interest in their empire and that their interest stops at the frontiers of France. Barrès and Déroulède were nationalists, not imperialists, and their one and only aim was the recovery of Alsace-Lorraine. Their ideas bore no resemblance to those of Treitschke, Bernhardi, or Kipling. Besides, England and France were at loggerheads for years after the last war.

Soon after its end British diplomacy awoke to the fact that the peace treaties had destroyed the balance of power and given France a sort of hegemony on the continent of Europe. They set themselves to redress the balance by resuscitating Germany and appealed to the sentiment of the English people by exciting their sympathy for the poor dear Germans, who had had a raw deal. The English people ended by pretending that the French were solely responsible for the peace terms, and popular feeling in England became bitterly anti-French. In Germany popular feeling became extremely pro-English. When I went to live in Germany in November, 1922, Lloyd George was a national hero, and some Germans were seriously proposing that Germany should become a British dominion.

British diplomacy was no doubt aided by the stupid and vindictive policy of Poincaré in the occupied German territory, a policy which excited great hostility to France in England. That policy, however, was the result, not of imperialism or even nationalism, but of fear. And the fear was the result of the failure of England and the United States to implement the guaranties given to France by the treaties signed on June 28, 1919, by Lloyd George and Arthur Balfour in the one case and by Woodrow Wilson and Robert Lansing in the other, Clemenceau and Pichon signing for France. For a long time after the end of the last war the French had the mentality of a defeated nation.

Since 1930 France has been the vassal of England, except when Barthou was Foreign Minister in 1934. Under British pressure the French agreed to the complete evacuation of the Rhineland and the suppression of reparations, events which in my opinion were the chief causes of Hitler's accession to power. I gave the reasons for my opinion in *The Nation* of December 23, 1939. Since Hitler became dictator of Germany the British government and the French government under its influence have made concession after concession to him to avoid war, culminating in the shameful capitulation of Munich. The British and French "imperialists" and a great part of the ruling classes and big business in both countries were for peace with Germany at any price.

Hitler said in "Mein Kampf" that the only possible allies for Germany in any near future were England and Italy. The events showed that he was right. Chamberlain's policy was an alliance with Germany which would give Hitler a free hand in Central and Eastern Europe in the hope that he could be induced to come to terms and keep off the British Empire. Meanwhile, British diplomacy separated France from all its allies to avoid being drawn into a conflict with Germany by the French alliances.

The British "imperialists" and the international gang of financiers and big business men who pulled the strings to which they danced allowed British ships to be sunk with impunity and guns to be trained on Gibraltar, capitulated to Japan and to Mussolini as well as to Hitler, connived at the German and Italian invasion of Spain, which was opposed to British interests and the success of which was one of the chief causes of the present war, and reduced the prestige of England all over the world to the lowest level that it had reached since the time of Charles II. The injury that they have done to the British Empire is, in my opinion, irreparable.

The British and French governments knew in advance that Hitler was going into Prague and made no attempt to stop him. After he had done it, Chamberlain declared in the House of Commons that he would not change his policy. He was obliged to change it by the pressure of public opinion and the threat of a revolt in his own party. Even after Germany had invaded Poland, Chamberlain and Daladier did not at once declare war because they wished to agree to the negotiations proposed by Mussolini on September 1. The fact that the French government had given a "positive" reply to the Italian proposal was announced in a communication of the Havas Agency, published in the French press on September 2, 1939 (the text of the communication is Document No. 347 in the recently published French Yellow Book). On September 2 Winston Churchill, Eden, and Duff-Cooper saw Chamberlain and told him that if he accepted negotiations they would raise an open revolt against him in the Conservative Party. Chamberlain then climbed down and the British government declared war on Germany. The French government followed its example some hours later.

In the face of these facts how can it be said that this war is nothing but a clash between rival imperialisms? It is not a war for democracy or for any "ideology," but a war forced by the English and French democracies on their respective governments, which yielded most unwillingly. So far as England and France are concerned it is a people's war, as the war of 1914 emphatically was not; it has the sole aim of putting an end to German aggression and rescuing its victims. So far as Germany and Russia are concerned it is an imperialist war with the vulgar aim of territorial aggrandizement. Those who say that there is nothing to choose between the two sides can do so only by falsifying the facts. Consciously or unconsciously they are playing the game of Hitler and Stalin.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Klan Rides Again

BY RICHARD H. ROVERE

AT LEAST three persons have been killed by nightriders in Fulton County, Georgia, in the last month. On March 2 two Atlanta young people, Sarah Rawls and Benton Ford, were found beaten to death in a local lovers' lane where they had been sitting in Ford's parked car. On the night of March 7 Ike Gaston, proprietor of a barber shop in an Atlanta suburb, was visited by hooded vigilantes; the next morning his body was found in a field nearby, cut to shreds by blows with a long, cleated belt. The killing of these three people is striking evidence of the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan and of its new concentration on moral problems. Gaston offended the Kleagles by drinking too much; Ford and his girl were supposed to be violating the Klan's code of sexual decency.

The crudeness of this form of moral admonition has aroused Atlanta and the whole South to a shocked awareness of the Klan's growing strength and activity. Fulton County has been taken aback not only by the killings themselves but by a seemingly endless succession of disclosures which have cut deep into the political and industrial life of the state. O. John Rogge, the federal prosecutor credited with smashing the Long regime in Louisiana, is now working on the Atlanta situation, and he thinks his investigation may result in as thoroughgoing a clean-up as the job he did in New Orleans and Baton Rouge. Rogge is investigating not only the Atlanta murders and other floggings but the alleged mulcting of the state by the Klan described last summer before the House Economy Committee by former Imperial Wizard Hiram Wesley Evans. Evans told the committee at that time that he and other Klansmen had represented several asphalt and truck-body companies in their dealings with the State Highway Department and had influenced and fixed bidding. Also suspect in such matters is Representative B. Frank Whelchel, who was indicted on March 22 for selling postal-service appointments.

The Fulton County grand jury has already heard tales of more than fifty floggings. At the March 22 session fourteen nightriders were identified. It has been proved that the belt with which Gaston, the murdered barber, was lashed was made by a Klansman implicated in two other floggings. Three Atlanta policemen have been indicted for extorting confessions from suspected criminals by flogging, and charges of fatal beatings by the police have been pouring into Southern newspaper offices. Three Fulton County deputy sheriffs have admitted membership in the Klan, a head deputy, W. W. Scarborough, being the local Exalted Cyclops. When questioned in Atlanta, Scarborough coolly admitted that he and his fellows took action outside the law "whenever someone wasn't doin' like he ought to." Asked at another point why he had not arrested a particular lawbreaker instead of threatening him with violence, Scarborough said, "How could I? I was enrobed." The three deputies turned in their badges shortly after these revelations; the next day it was discovered that the books of their Klan headquarters had been destroyed. Sheriff Mott Aldredge has said that he knew about numerous other flogging cases but did not consider investigation of them part of his duty.

Atlanta papers, which have been staging a genuine anti-Klan crusade, suggest the likelihood that hundreds of persons have been flogged during the past year. Since the publicity given to the Gaston and Rawls-Ford cases dozens of local people, Negro and white, have been coming to law and newspaper offices, as well as before the grand jury, to exhibit bodily injuries as material evidence of the terror. Among the cases spotlighted by the current investigation are the following:

W. L. Allen, a tenant farmer near Atlanta, was abducted and severely beaten by nightriders some months ago after ignoring Klan warnings to "get rid of an old Negro we had living on our place."

Emma Heard, a Negro woman of seventy-six, was abducted and flogged two months ago. She is now a patient in the Grady Hospital, suffering from blood poisoning resulting from her wounds.

S. W. Jones and T. E. Young, suburban Atlantans, were seized last July 25, taken to a garbage dump, and beaten for "immorality."

T. C. Ellis, of East Point, was assaulted by men who said they were law officers. While a revolver was held to his head, Ellis was flogged and told to stop "talking about his neighbors."

The Reverend Gray Kent, a local parson, was beaten because his congregation at Ben Hill was "making too much noise." Kent has identified county-owned cars as those in which his abductors called for him.

J. L. Matthews, white proprietor of a theater for Negroes, was flogged in Decatur last October. The Klan did not like Mr. Matthews's business and paraded before his movie house several times. The attack on him came after he refused to discharge a Negro employee.

Atlanta, of course, is the Klan's national headquarters and its traditional stronghold. Recently the organization

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was so bold as to send out sixty-two Kluxers in full regalia to distribute to A. F. of L. delegates convening in the city leaflets ordering them to destroy the C. I. O. and purge the country of "all other Communists."

Although most of the recent nightriding has been in the Atlanta area, reports of outrages have come in from several other parts of the South. Last November two boys were badly beaten in a National Youth Administration camp for Negroes near Anderson, South Carolina. Lanier Pruitt, a white garage mechanic of Anderson, was beaten for failing to give Christmas presents to his wife and children. Fiery crosses have been burned outside two Negro churches in Orlando, Florida, and their pastors ordered to leave town. From another city comes a story of the Klan's persecution of drugstore cowboys who were thought to be spending too much time "skirt-chasing." One lad, his comrades testified, was beaten for this but was promised immunity if he joined the Klan.

All this is part of a revival of Klan spirit that has been going on for five or six years. After having been practically liquidated in 1926 owing at least in part to the New York *World's* exposé, the Klan started its comeback in 1934, when Imperial Wizard Hiram W. Evans called for a new crusade in behalf of "constitutional rights." Evans appointed M. O. Dunning, a former federal tax collector, his chief of staff and initiated a campaign against the New Deal and trade unions. This appealing program drew thousands into the organization, and its membership reached a fifteen-year peak in 1937, at the height of the C. I. O. drive among Southern textile workers. The only reported case of a Klan killing in those years was that of Joseph Shoemaker, Tampa Socialist and labor leader, who died after having been tarred with two others on November 30, 1935.

On January 17, 1939, Evans surprised the country and his followers by accepting the invitation of Catholic Bishop Gerald O'Hara to take part in ceremonies attending the dedication of an Atlanta church. His acceptance was taken as a sign of a new liberalism on the part of the Klan. But if Wizard Evans had altered his views on Catholics, which is dubious, most Kluxers had not. Evans was gently removed from office—perhaps as much because of his connection with the Georgia asphalt scandals as because of the Catholic incident—and replaced, on June 11, 1939, by James Arnold Colescott, a flushed and porky ex-veterinarian from Terre Haute, Indiana. Colescott announced on taking office that he was dedicating himself to promoting the interests of the "native-born, white, Protestant, Gentile population."

Although Klan figures are unreliable, it is not difficult to believe Colescott's boast that membership has jumped 50 per cent during his Wizardry and that his recent national tour netted thousands of new members. Present Klan membership is estimated at about 300,000, 70 per cent of which is in the South. Recently Klan activity has been reported in Philadelphia, Providence, Schenectady, Jersey City, New York City, and the Pacific Northwest. Jersey City, with a large Catholic population, is a Klan center; rag-wrapped crosses have been burned near Catholic churches there on five separate occasions. In nearby Roselle, the Klan, under its New Jersey leader, the Reverend A. M. Young, a retired Baptist preacher, burned a thirty-foot cross outside the town synagogue.

The Klan's concern with moral and domestic problems has not entirely superseded its political interests. The *Voice*, organ of liberal Catholics, reports that it has been advised by a high Kleagle that the Klan hopes the Democrats will nominate a Catholic like Farley or Murphy, for then "we'll wash our nightshirts and go to town." Klan leaflets boast of a membership campaign among unionists and report that it is recruiting many workers, "particularly foremen." It claims to have captured a C. I. O. automobile local in Detroit, though this is unsubstantiated and most unlikely. However, trade unionists, even sincere ones, have been known to join the Klan. Its propaganda in the unions, particularly in Detroit, features the FBI drive against "alien saboteurs" in factories filling war orders; in this it is said by C. I. O. men to be cooperating with the remnants of the employers' National Workers' League and the Black Legion. Joseph E. McWilliams, head of the Christian Mobilizers, a splinter of Coughlin's Christian Front, is reported to have been named to the national council of the Klan. McWilliams denies this vehemently but says, "We might copy the Klan, take some of the nightshirts and go out looking for Jews."

While the Klan appears to have made considerable progress of late, the nightriders are not in an enviable position. The Southern press, with few important exceptions, is playing up the Atlanta revelations and calling for the disbanding of hooded orders. Dozens of hoodlums and amateur Nazis are filling Fulton Tower, the jail that once housed Angelo Herndon and other victims of Klan rule. Organizations ranging from the left-wing Workers' Defense League, which has started a national anti-Klan publicity campaign, to the American Legion, which has spoken out with commendable clarity and courage, are urging ceaseless prosecution.

As always, however, there is the danger that local investigations will drop the threads that lead directly to the Klan. If the Atlanta cases end only in the imprisonment of a few scapegoats, the Klan may be chastened for a time locally but nationally will remain every bit as menacing. A good deal now depends on the findings of Mr. Rogge, which will determine the extent of federal jurisdiction in these cases. But in the end quite as much will depend on the extent to which public opinion uses the Atlanta findings to force the Invisible Empire into the open.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

How About Television?

BY EDGAR M. JONES

THE Federal Communications Commission has declared its faith in television to the extent of permitting "limited commercialization," probably after September 1. This extraordinary status is defined as authority to charge advertising sponsors for the costs of producing programs but not for the costs of transmission over the air, which will have to be borne by the broadcasting company. Theoretically the radio companies are to continue television as an experiment. However, the FCC holds its breath and hopes that the public will not go too far in buying television receivers. If a comparison might be drawn, the situation is something like legislation for pari-mutuel betting which contains amendments in the form of prayer against gambling.

The Communications commissioners evidently fear that a few companies are about to recoup their television-research costs from an unsuspecting public by exploitation of the half-ready art of visual broadcasting. Some of the radio manufacturers and broadcasters wanted full commercialization, and the "limited" status was devised by a commission committee to bridge the gap between them and the members of the commission who did not believe television was perfected enough for high-pressure selling. In this the committee was successful, and the FCC unanimously voted for the compromise. When the Radio Corporation of America immediately launched an advertising campaign with great fanfare, however, the commission became alarmed and ordered further hearings on April 8 to determine whether or not it should withdraw its recently voted concession.

A change is coming in radio. Two developments are now well on the way. One is television, which we shall hear about all this summer, and the other, known as frequency modulation (F-M), almost eliminates static. Both need plenty of space in the ether to achieve their ultimate public use, and the FCC is not certain where to find room. Although F-M at present applies to aural broadcasting only, and television adds sight to sound, there is definite competition between the two. F-M wants a radio channel now given to television, and both realize that the public and the broadcaster can, under normal conditions, support only one new development at a time.

Television today produces a picture similar to some of the early movies. There is flicker; there is lack of detail; there is haziness, a general lack of brilliance. At close range the line-by-line composition of the image upon the screen is discernible, but it must be admitted that the eye practically disregards the imperfections to concentrate on the motion. It should be conceded, moreover, that television has surmounted unbelievable difficulties since experimenters went to work approximately ten years ago. But during this period few receivers have been in operation—it was a simple matter to change abruptly to some new method requiring a new type of receiver. Allowances should be made for television; wider use of the instrument will help to iron out its kinks. Nevertheless, television engineers realize they are on uncertain ground. General use of television may provide additional funds for research, but it will limit the field of research to methods fixed by public investment.

So far, research in television has been an out-of-pocket expense borne by the various manufacturers. Not the first but certainly the most active is the Radio Corporation of America, reputed to have poured $10,000,000 into television, largely at the insistence of its president, David Sarnoff. Other companies have spent lesser sums trying to perfect the art. Different conclusions on whether television is or is not here are the result. There is no clear understanding between rival television manufacturers, and there is disagreement over seemingly minor details which nevertheless mean much to the public. RCA, having the greater investment, has more reason to hope that television is ready. The only way the manufacturers can recover their reasearch costs is to sell their product. But if they are to sell their devices, there must be public use; and that is where the FCC fits in. If the FCC would only open up the field for the broadcasters, stations would buy transmitters from the manufacturers, and the operation of these would encourage the purchase of receivers.

The economic base for television is yet to be found. Some believe that its niche will be in the theater, where admission can be charged for entertainment akin to movies. Diehard radio men refuse to believe that the American people will sit in darkened living-rooms to accommodate sponsors of television programs. They have observed that the radio listener enjoys a freedom incompatible with any other form of entertainment. The housewife can hear the daily heart-throb drama while she works in the kitchen. The family reads, plays cards, or talks while the loud-speaker blares. Even the motorist drives and looks at the scenery while his set is tuned in. In effect, America listens with one ear; absorbs its advertising while doing something else.

Television, aural-radio men believe, will require a concentration which will be grudgingly given. Even staunch advocates of television admit this tacitly by their

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

opinions on practical program schedules, pointing out that the listener may turn off the image but keep the sound. However, a program technique suited to this dual purpose is still to be found.

The trend is toward the home set. Manufacturers see a bigger market in selling receivers directly to the public than in selling to the limited number of commercial exhibitors which might develop if television went the other way. Programs for television, except public events, are certain to be very expensive. Unless production is slap-happy, the costs promise to compare with those of Broadway shows—all for a one-night shot. Costumes, scenery, lighting, and exhaustive rehearsals, not now in radio production figures, will present a phenomenal budget to prospective advertisers. Today three technicians are considered necessary for the production details of one good radio show. A similar passion for detail in television will call for twenty-two technicians. Broadcasters estimate that if and when they enter television they will have to bill their clients three times their present charges, and it is common belief that broadcasters who cannot cover themselves with a manufacturing operation—similar to the arrangement between RCA and NBC—will lose considerable sums of money during the first few years of television.

There must be perfect synchronization between the transmitter and the home receiver. A station using one group of operating specifications cannot be received on a set equipped for another. The public will want sets capable of receiving all stations within reception limits, and no telecaster will want to operate on a system incapable of reaching the full potential audience. This will impose upon the FCC the task of ordering standards of operation, thus achieving uniformity for the country as a whole. But this the FCC has refused to do. That body has just said that television is not sufficiently advanced for crystallized standards despite the efforts of manufacturers to settle on one system.

Television loomed up as a regulatory problem about a year ago when an FCC committee prepared a report warning the public of the risk in buying receivers. Despite this, RCA attempted to increase the sale of receivers and build up public interest generally by capitalizing on the New York World's Fair. The failure to make substantial gains in this direction was attributed to the attitude of the FCC. The corporation felt that a more optimistic view should prevail at the commission, that some step should be taken by the government to encourage the public to accept television as it is. Accordingly, several visits were made to Washington in order to bring pressure on the commission to revise its stand. A second report issued by the television committee originated the "limited commercialization" idea and suggested standards of transmitting operations. Despite its qualifying declarations the report was a rescue act for manufacturers.

The other members of the commission were not convinced, however, and ordered hearings, which were held in Washington during January of this year. It was here that the FCC heard about the discord among the manufacturers. There were charges that RCA dominated the Radio Manufacturers' Association, coercing the group into advancing one set of standards for the FCC to study. Various technical differences were explained at length, but one point was clear. The expert witnesses were afraid that wide public use of television would prevent real progress or else the public would lose its entire investment in television receivers. Any significant change in synchronization, frames, or lines at the transmitter would put a black-out on existing receivers. For this reason one company was flatly against any kind of commercialization, arguing that there is no distinction between the "limited" and the "full" variety. RCA men made every effort to offset these views with declarations that the others were stalling for time until they should be in a position to compete with the corporation.

Most interesting perhaps was the view of the Columbia Broadcasting System. This organization is the business rival of NBC, and its investment is in today's radio. It believes that television will compete with rather than replace aural broadcasting. Obviously its competitive position indicates opposition to television, for it would have to buy its equipment from RCA, but it analyzed television very shrewdly. Columbia protested that television must not attempt a public trial at public expense and warned that public trial should not induce large-scale investment. Scheduled program service, it stated, must not be allowed to delude the public into buying sets that suddenly may become useless or betray the broadcaster into wasting his resources. Three courses were open to the FCC, Columbia said: (1) fix standards for ten years and inform the public it could count on receivers for that period; (2) fix no standards but loudly warn the public that it could not count on any receiver; (3) fix flexible standards involving no great broadcaster or public investment. The commission apparently has attempted the second. When "limited commercialization" goes into effect, the television broadcaster must announce that the programs are "experimental." Such an announcement, though, will have little meaning to the general public.

As if television were not enough, the FCC has to meet the collateral problem of F-M. Developed by Major Edwin H. Armstrong, who is responsible for many of the refinements in present broadcasting, the new system is eyeing one television channel. Armstrong put in an appearance during the television hearings and begged the commission to defer decision until it had heard about his new system. Though this was not done, the question

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of channel allocations was left open, and the FCC has since held hearings on F-M.

This new system represents a major advance in radio. Its proponents promise near-deliverance from static, and reception so true that listeners to symphonic programs will hear twenty additional instruments not picked up by the microphone today. Broadcasters flirt with F-M because it seems to offer better radio signals from cheaper equipment, and in addition opens the way for nation-wide network hook-ups without the cost of land lines. F-M people tell the commission that their system offers more economical use of the air waves, for despite the wider channel per individual station required, more stations can be licensed on the same channel without interference.

Whatever suspicions the FCC may have felt during the television hearings, it opened the way for commercialization. Although no standards have been set and thus presumably any kind of system may be developed, the position of RCA indicates that its methods will eventually emerge successful. Members of the commission privately admit that any other decision would have laid them open to the charge of obstruction—of stubbornly keeping television from the American public. Officially they say that the commission is not unsympathetic with the desire of radio companies to recoup their investment, but that "nothing should be done which will encourage a large public investment in receivers which, by reason of technical advances, when ultimately introduced, may become obsolete in a relatively short time."

The Communications Commission could delay television until manufacturers produced a set capable of adjustment to change. However, the commission relinquished this opportunity with "hopes that attention may be directed toward designing, building, and distributing receivers capable, in so far as is consistent with reasonable cost, of receiving or of being adjusted to receive any reasonable change in methods of synchronization or changes in number of frames or lines which may be found to be practical and licensed in the future. . . . Such a practice will keep to a minimum the economic loss to those acquiring receivers at this stage of the art and for that reason alone would seem to be required by the public interest."

Weighty words, but what do they mean? The general public only hears that television is ready to blossom; that stations will soon be on the air. Well does the FCC know the public capacity for buying radios. Current estimates indicate that 40,000,000 receivers are in the homes of America, representing a public investment of something like $3,000,000,000. When television sets are in display rooms, the purchasing public will have forgotten all about the warnings of the FCC, if, indeed, it ever heard them.

In the Wind

PHILADELPHIA COUGHLINITES, most of whom are Irish Americans, faced a stern ideological struggle a fortnight ago. The Kerrymen's Patriotic Society was holding its annual ball. The "Four Provinces," an Irish musical group, had been hired to entertain. But the "Four Provinces" broadcasts over Station WDAS, which banned Coughlin's talks a year ago. After long debate, the Coughlinites decided to picket the Kerrymen's ball in reprisal against the "Four Provinces." They picketed.

IN BRITISH Home Defense tests Boy Scouts usually act the role of "casualties." During a recent blackout numerous Boy Scouts were scattered in prostrate position in the darkened streets awaiting the arrival of nurses and ambulances. When one party of rescuers reached the spot where the last "casualty" was supposed to be lying, it found only a piece of paper reading, "Have bled to death and gone home."

THE LATEST illustration of Martin Dies's close collaboration with reactionary groups, and with Merwin K. Hart in particular, is the announcement of his committee's intention to expose "textbook propaganda." The efforts of Hart and the Advertising Federation of America to suppress Harold Rugg's textbooks were described in this column several weeks ago. George Sokolsky is closely linked with the campaign. These interests have been urging Dies to "probe" textbooks for months. Now he has made it official.

CANDOR DEPARTMENT: "I am for the farmer year in and year out. I do not have to be for him especially this year because I am not a candidate."—Senator Reynolds of North Carolina, quoted in the *Congressional Record*. . . . Cheerio: "Difficulties abound in business even in peace time—that's what gives business its zest. In war time these are multiplied. We of B. K. and T. are meeting our share of them, chiefly in connection with the price and shortage of diamonds."—Advertisement in the *British Jeweller*.

DURING THE recent hearings of the Senate Civil Liberties Committee in San Francisco, Senator Elbert Thomas read aloud a long, detailed plan of the Associated Farmers for mobilizing 600 farmers to repel a "Communist" invasion in Stanislaus County. The Associated Farmers, he said, was equipping the "army" with olive-drab uniforms, shirts, hard hats, and side-arms. As he recited the list a spectator whispered audibly: "What, no skis?"

LONDON'S *New Statesman and Nation* recently reported this epigram of a prominent man of letters. He was asked why he was not at the front "trying to save civilization." "I am part of the civilization they are trying to save," he replied.

[*The $5 prize for the best item submitted in March goes to E. D. of Washington, D. C., for the item about "Karl Marx" published last week.*]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

TO MY mind the most sensational aspect of the German publication of the Polish documents relating to the utterances of American diplomats is the calculated attack upon the United States. When I was in Berlin last fall, Foreign Office officials assured me again and again that they had not the slightest intention of drawing the United States into the war. "There will be no Lusitania case in this war and no Belgium," they said; and they insisted that they had not sunk the Athenia. I attributed their courtesies to me, when they knew of my hostility to the Nazi regime, as another evidence of their desire to cultivate American public opinion. Now they have plainly had a change of heart and are ready to attack the United States, to link us with the Allies, and to antagonize our public and our press.

The explanation can only be that they believe we are now hopelessly tied up with the Allies and that they feel so strong and certain of victory that they are ready to take us on also. They are obviously riding high. They believe that they have the mastery of the air and are winning on the sea; they are making better headway against the British blockade than they had hoped and are inflicting extremely heavy losses on Allied and neutral shipping. Hence their aggressiveness and confidence, which are unlike anything seen in Berlin during the last war. These Nazis believe in forcing the fighting all along the line, and one must record the fact that as yet they are showing none of that fatal misunderstanding of the psychology of other peoples that is usually characteristic of Germans. The English press admits that the German broadcasts to England are making headway even among the British troops.

From an entirely reliable source I have recently heard of a conversation which took place on New Year's Day between an American business man, the head of a great company, and Hermann Göring. They have known each other since Göring's residence in Sweden after the last war. "You Americans are coming into this war," said Göring to his visitor. "No," was the reply, "our people are 80 per cent against our going in." "You are wrong," said Göring; "the latest polls show as high as 95 per cent against going in, but you will be in next fall just the same." This bears out the theory that the Nazis feel there is no longer any use in trying to keep us out and are therefore willing, as the Polish revelations show, to abuse us. On the other hand, their American advisers may have told them to go ahead on the theory that the disclosure of the way our diplomats have been siding with the Allies may discredit Roosevelt with the peace-loving American public and increase the determination of the masses to keep this country out of the struggle. It is too early yet—I am writing this in Los Angeles before the publication of the second promised batch of documents—to tell what effect these publications will have in Washington, but coming as they do on top of the calculated indiscretion of the American minister to Canada, they furnish dynamite for Congress, or would if there were an effective opposition. How Senator Borah would have welcomed this opportunity to cut loose!

That the Germans chose the moment they did for the publication of the Polish documents—almost the very day that Sumner Welles was reporting to the President on what he had learned abroad—shows clearly that they were determined to offset the effect of his recommendations or to blanket his return by overshadowing it. Undoubtedly they have had these papers in their possession ever since the surrender of Warsaw and could have published them months ago; this again would seem to argue that they have recently changed their policy in regard to the United States. That they are substantially correct reports I do not doubt, for Mr. Bullitt has made no concealment of his passionate advocacy of the French and English cause. His speeches in France have at times, it seems to me, gone beyond the bounds of diplomacy. I have no doubt that he has been doing his best to influence Allied policy behind the scenes. There is nothing inherently improbable in the extracts from the Polish documents which have appeared here except the orders to Joseph Kennedy in London which are attributed to Mr. Bullitt.

The outstanding facts are that Germany is now on the war path against us and that Washington, according to the headlines, is seething with indignation. Let those who wish to keep this country out of war take notice. Mr. Kennedy, as everyone knows, is opposed to our getting into the war, but with Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Bullitt it will be a very different story if things go badly with the Allies. One thing I can record about my trip across this continent by motor. Nowhere did I see the slightest indication in press or public of any desire that we should enter the war. The tremendous applause given to Taft and Dewey whenever they attack Mr. Roosevelt's attitude toward the war shows clearly what the American people want.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Notes by the Way

"STALIN'S KAMPF" (Howell, Soskin and Company, $2.50) reminds me of the Book of Mormon; for both in style and subject matter Stalin's "book" is to the Marxian scriptures as the Book of Mormon is to the Bible—a dull caricature. The sharp polemic and brilliant phrase of those sophisticated Europeans, Marx, Lenin, and Trotsky, appear here as bludgeoning attacks and crude sentences. There are sections in which the only readable paragraphs are those in which Stalin quotes from Marx or Lenin, and in general the book is so thoroughly devoid of any integrating logic, let alone style, that one searches in vain for the "blueprint of Communist ambitions" and "statement of world aims" which the jacket promises. This is partly of course because the book is really a frame-up: it is a collection of speeches and articles some of which go back to 1905, and Stalin had nothing to do with putting it together—though M. R. Werner, the editor, has done a conscientious and careful job. And it is partly because the Communist Party line has changed so often.

Yet a random collection, say, of speeches and articles by Lenin, though he too shifted his line, would show a basic consistency which is lacking here. The reason lies in Stalin's attitude toward writing, which sticks out on every page. He obviously has none of the intellectual's sickly regard for the art as an end in itself; he is a non-writer who despises writers, not because he wants to be one—as Hitler probably does—but because he holds the healthy peasant view that scribbling is a futile business except in so far as it serves a practical purpose. Stalin will never be caught telling a British ambassador as Hitler did that his real desire is to be an artist. He does not share Trotsky's passion to go down as a great writer. His attitude toward the written word is perfectly illustrated in the section headed Can Russia Build Socialism? wherein he proves that socialism can be built in one country by quoting Lenin's vigorous and various assertions that it can't. I could fill a page with sentences which are in direct opposition to their author's actions, but I refrain. For the contradictions of Stalin's socialism, like the contradictions of capitalism, are no longer news.

Seriously, however, Stalin's writings do illustrate one point. It is often and rightly said that the main factor in the degeneration of the October revolution lies in the backwardness of Russia. It is not so well realized that this includes an intellectual backwardness which, once the Europeanized leaders of 1917 had been washed into the discard, had its way as well with Marxism and its interpretation. Equipped with a religious zeal in itself as primitive as icons, the crude interpretations and the cruder language of Moscow, at which Marx would have been horrified, forced their way to acceptance not only in Russia but in the centers of Western civilization, in Paris, London, New York. In literature they took the form of the childish fallacy of "proletarian art." Trotsky, to be sure, demolished it in "Literature and Revolution," but in vain. In the political sphere the results may be seen any day in the columns of the assorted *Daily Workers*. One of the ironies of this generation is that the most primitive writing of the day, merely as writing, is to be found in the house organs of the Communist Party, which for various reasons has been able to enforce its claim to be the inheritor of Karl Marx, who was so far ahead of his time.

SPEAKING OF STALIN, Eugene Lyons has turned out a biography, subtitled "Czar of All the Russias" (Lippincott, $2.50), which collates and telescopes in 292 pages most of the facts and hearsay about Stalin contained in his own earlier book "Assignment in Utopia," "Stalin" by Boris Souvarine, and other sources. He has drawn most heavily on Souvarine. He is frank in his acknowledgment of the fact, and certainly his book, being shorter, is more suited to one's available reading time. It is well written and interesting, but I can't help feeling that in the apportioning of royalties as well as credit the Lyons share should go to Souvarine.

IN THE REBUTTALS to Lewis Corey, both Earl Browder for the Communists and Max Schachtman for the Trotskyites attacked Mr. Corey as a "revisionist" and a "gradualist." For years now in social-revolutionary circles these terms have been sufficient to damn any left critic of Marxism as a counter-revolutionist if not a bandit, the assumption being that revisionism and gradualism are *ipso facto* bad. But as Franz Hoellering was saying the other day, it would probably be very difficult to find a single scientific theory current in Marx's day which has not been completely revised at least half a dozen times since then. Only Marx is sacred. As for gradualism, it is having its inning today in the Soviet Union. For the Russian experience shows, if it shows anything, that the telescoping of the bourgeois and socialist revolutions is not possible. One of the social processes now going on in Russia is the development of a bureaucracy which is bourgeois in everything but name. On the industrial front workers are gradually becoming skilled; and gradually the problems of productivity and management may be mastered even against the political odds of purges and paper-work. Eventually these processes may be completed and the structure become ripe for a genuine socialist development, though the "dictatorship of the proletariat" may be expected to put it off for the simple reason that it prevents the "bourgeois" democratic conditioning of the population which, it becomes clearer every day, must precede any stable democratic socialism—which is to say socialism.

HAVING SOJOURNED briefly at the University of Montana, I was glad to hear that the five members of the faculty who had been dismissed or asked to resign for "failure to cooperate" have been reinstated by the State Board of Education. The men in question had served from six to twenty-five years in an institution which is known for its beautiful surroundings and the regularity with which its more lively and useful professors have been kicked out or investigated on suspicion of being subversive. MARGARET MARSHALL

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Inside Germany

HEIL HUNGER! HEALTH UNDER HITLER. By Martin Gumpert. Alliance Book Corporation. $1.75.

TWO THOUSAND AND TEN DAYS OF HITLER. By Patsy Ziemer. Harper and Brothers. $2.75.

WHAT Fritz Sternberg did in the field of war economics with his revealing "Why Hitler Can't Win: From Nazi Sources," Martin Gumpert, former head of a large clinic in Berlin, does in the field of health, or rather sickness, in the Third Reich with his slender but compact volume. For his material he combed the scientific journals which still exist in Germany. They are put out today by Nazi editors under Nazi censorship, but "here, imbedded among the misrepresentations and monstrosities of 'Aryan' science, were the facts I sought, the truth I needed: statistical statements which, by the law of persistence, continued to be published, research results whose dangerous character had obviously slipped past the attention of the Ministry of Propaganda, and even attempts at an open anxious and warning criticism." The material Dr. Gumpert collected from such sources, given in detail in 198 very valuable references, covers a vast amount of ground.

Starting with the population policy of the Nazis, which is based on the assumption that the numerically strongest people in Europe will in the end rule the whole Continent by sheer weight if it is not held down by a coalition of the minority nations, the author proceeds to show what Hitler's total mobilization has done to the German people. He destroys effectively the myth that Hitler, whatever his politics, has at least made the Germans a strong and healthy people again. The opposite is the truth. The Nazis themselves have to admit that drunkenness, suicide, lunacy, and venereal disease are rapidly increasing in the Third Reich. Women and aged people long retired are made to slave for the state, and even people who are seriously ill, such as the 1,500,000 tuberculars in Germany. Welfare work, in which the Weimar Republic excelled, is generally neglected. The funds collected by the Winterhilfe are used for armament. In consequence, general health conditions in Germany are worse today than they were ten and twenty years ago.

Dr. Gumpert concludes "that freedom is the first condition for the biological advancement of the individual and of the social group." This seems to me too absolute a statement to be really useful. Altogether too many powers have been attributed of late to the ambiguous term "freedom." War, whether fought by "free" democracies or totalitarian powers, is unhealthy for the individual and the social group. And Hitler has been waging war in Europe ever since he came to power. He accepts his losses and would rather work the tubercular to death than lose the war. When Europe has been conquered, the Nazis argue, then the Golden Age can begin. But Dr. Gumpert demolishes the Goebbels contention that the people grow healthier every day while being forced to slave for the realization of the Führer's nightmares.

Patsy Ziemer, the author of "Two Thousand and Ten Days of Hitler," is the twelve-year-old daughter of the former headmaster of the American school in Berlin. She kept a diary while in Nazi Germany, to which, as published, her father has added many of his own observations. The result is a tremendously interesting book. The child's naivete and the father's insight combine to give a most significant and lively picture of conditions under Hitler. Anybody who seeks first-hand information will be satisfied by hundreds of funny and tragic incidents which tell a complete story. I would like to quote a score of them but have space for only one:

> One morning, just as school started, a man came in a blue-serge suit. He said he was the Schulrat to inspect the school. "You have Jewish students. You have no permission to have Jewish students," he said.
>
> "But I have permission from the Ministry of Culture to have German students. Are Jews not German students?" asked daddy.
>
> "Certainly not. They are not German," he said.
>
> "But if they are foreigners I have a license that says the American School can have foreign students," said daddy.
>
> "But these are German Jews," he said.
>
> Daddy simply threw up his hands.

Patsy's father's fight for his school and the German children whom he had taken under his protection is a story in itself. It becomes a frightening document in that part which deals with the repercussions in the classroom of the great pogrom that followed the shooting of von Rath. Mr. Ziemer was also doing some newspaper work at the time and as a journalist saw more than many others.

Both these books on Germany are to be highly recommended, for in both the Nazis themselves are the principal contributors.

FRANZ HOELLERING

The Unconstraining Voice

ANOTHER TIME. Poems by W. H. Auden. Random House. $2.

THE aim of W. H. Auden in his poetry is toward a complete speech, in which whatever is pertinent to his purpose at the moment may be said. He will not, like the capital in one of his poems in "Another Time," hide away the appalling in unlighted streets. A poet would do well to consider himself "a dark, disordered city"—the image occurs in a poem on Matthew Arnold—to be explored until all its ways are known and he has become

> Familiar with each square and boulevard and slum
> And found in the disorder a whole world to praise.

Auden's powers have been expended on increasing the possibilities of the language; his interest in the form his poems take is slight. He stands as far as he can from such a poet as Paul Valéry, for whom a poem is something to be constructed, word by word, until at last it is there, a complete composition. From that point, it is outside the poet and must make its own way in the world. What it has to say is then no concern of his, though he has weighed the consequence of every word. What Auden has to say is very much his concern. He can be, and often is, remarkably complacent with mere communication. Valéry, the descendant of Baudelaire and the disciple of Mallarmé, tells us there was a time when he had no other aim than to recover from music what belonged to poetry. Auden's intent is to give poetry the range of prose, so that it may again become, though not in the constraining sense that Arnold meant, a criticism of life.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Since Baudelaire it has been assumed that poets, if they are to advance their art, must move now in one, now in another, direction. Whenever they have concluded that they must add to their material resources from the contemporary world, they have had no choice but to encroach on the province of prose. When, on the other hand, they have been most concerned with the feelings and emotions called into being by that world, they have, not always consciously, come closer to the condition of music. It is not an accident that Auden, in this volume, follows a sonnet, The Novelist, after a page with another, The Composer.

Poets, he says, "amaze us like a thunderstorm." But the novelist, "encased in talent like a uniform,"

> Must struggle out of his boyish gift and learn
> How to be plain and awkward, how to be
> One after whom none think it worth to turn.
>
> For, to achieve his lightest wish, he must
> Become the whole of boredom, subject to
> Vulgar complaints like love, among the Just
>
> Be just, among the Filthy filthy too.
> And in his own weak person, if he can.
> Must suffer dully all the wrongs of man.

It is probably not too much to say that Auden is here presenting the novelist with his own problem. His own boyish gifts were prodigious. But poets who have only their natural grace and power to depend on as poets have a way of dying young. Or else they are forced into solitude. Like Arnold, they become their own jailers. They become like A. E. Housman, who deliberately chose the dry-as-dust and, growing old, "Kept tears like dirty postcards in a drawer." What Auden hopes to learn from the novelist is obviously nothing technical, but a greater humility toward living creatures and a humbler attitude toward his own craft.

To the composer alone belongs a pure art. But it is beyond his power to say that an existence is wrong.

> Rummaging into his being, the poet fetches
> The images out that hurt and connect.

It is clear that Auden has made his choice. It is not at all clear that a choice is necessary between sense and structure.

The pure poet, as Auden has recently had occasion to write in an extraordinarily interesting review, is not one like Valéry but one like Shakespeare. He is one who rejects nothing that life offers him, for there is nothing living that he cannot translate into poetry. Shakespeare could face any problem, for there is none to which he cannot propose a poetic solution. And that is the only solution we have a right to expect from a poet. But there has been none since Shakespeare who has had his unlimited choice. It is not the appalling in the contemporary world that limits the poet; that he can face. What causes him to falter is that our consciousness of it has become increasingly abstract.

Within the limits of possible choice, no living poet of England has acted more brilliantly or more poignantly than Auden. In the midst of much that is trivial, much that is careless, much that is interesting, but whose interest might as well have been conveyed in prose, we are aware again and again, in this book as in every other that he has written, of that miracle which Coleridge thought might be wrought in poetry "simply by one man's feeling a thing more poignantly or more clearly than anyone had felt it before." What Auden

VIENNA, 1808 . . *by a brook in a shady wood, a young man sits writing music . . . Of his Pastorale Symphony, Beethoven said—*

"WHILE I WROTE, BIRDS SANG ABOVE ME, AND ALL AROUND ME"

Under brilliant direction of Dimitri Mitropoulos, the great Minneapolis Symphony now brings that music to life, with the new Columbia Masterworks record of Beethoven's "Pastorale". Hear it, and understand why this fine orchestra elects to record exclusively for Columbia (just as other famous orchestras do). A tone fidelity that mirrors every note of every instrument—this is *their* reason for choosing Columbia Masterworks. *Your* reason, too, for making this music your own!

BEETHOVEN: Symphony No. 6, in F Major, Opus 68 (Pastorale)
Dimitri Mitropoulos and the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra. Five 12-inch records, complete with Album. Set M-401 . . $10.00

MOZART: Symphony in D Major (Haffner) K-385
Sir Thomas Beecham conducts the London Philharmonic Orchestra. Three 12-inch records, with Album. Set M-399 . . . $4.50

SIBELIUS: Finlandia, Opus 26
Artur Rodzinski conducting The Cleveland Orchestra. 12-inch record. 11178-D . . $2.00

VERDI: Rigoletto (a) Questa o Quella (b) La Donna è Mobile
Nino Martini, tenor, with orchestra, Howard Barlow, conductor. 10-inch record. 17191-D. $1.00

SCHUMANN: Fantasiestücke, Opus 73
Gregor Piatigorsky, 'cellist, with Ivor Newton at the piano, 12-inch record. 69836-D . . $1.50

COLUMBIA RECORDS

TRADE MARK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

feels is something that could scarcely have been felt so clearly before: a disorder of the spirit inseparable from the dissolution of the social order to which he belongs.

What Auden brought to poetry was a new sensibility; his poems are a record of what has hurt and sustained that sensibility. Possibly because the modern man's sense of estrangement from nature is in him particularly strong, he has been able to set his personality against civilization in much the same way as the romantic poets of the last century were able to dramatize themselves against a natural world. The consciousness of the contemporary civilized world is constant in whatever Auden writes. It is in him like a sensation of cold—"winter for earth, and us"—the coldness his in the winter that is England.

> But in that child the rhetorician's lie
> Burst like a pipe: the cold had made him a poet.

The poems in "Another Time" derive in part from Europe, and these have a density that none of those composed since he came to America have. An American influence is obvious in a number of the lighter poems, with their rhythms taken from blues and popular ballads. It is probable that the decision to come to America indicates a change in Auden more significant for his poetry than anything that has happened to him since he got here. It is a heartening rather than a hope, not so much an overthrowing of negation and despair as a certainty of the means, not so small, of affirmation he has against them.

> All I have is a voice
> To undo the folded lie,
> The romantic lie in the brain
> Of the sensual man-in-the-street
> And the lie of Authority
> Whose buildings grope the sky:
> There is no such thing as the State
> And no one exists alone;
> Hunger allows no choice
> To the citizen or the police;
> We must love one another or die.

JOHN PEALE BISHOP

The Wearing of the Green in the Green Room

THE IRISH THEATRE. Edited by Lennox Robinson. The Macmillan Company. $3.

THIS book is made up of nine lectures which were delivered during the Abbey Theater Festival in 1938. Five were given by directors of the theater, one by a playwright, another by the founder of the Dublin Gate Theater, and two by the dramatic critic of the *Irish Times,* the late Andrew E. Malone.

Malone recounts, soundly but flatly, the early days of the Abbey and the rise of the realistic movement. The novelist Frank O'Connor provides what is more a polemic against Professor Corkery's book than an appreciation of Synge. F. R. Higgins, who deals with Yeats and the poetic drama in Ireland, is apparently a better poet than essayist. T. C. Murray gives a sympathetic sketch of his younger colleagues in the realistic movement: George Shiels and Brinsley MacNamara. The essay on Sean O'Casey by Walter Starkie is competent, though the present reviewer is inclined to disagree with him when he puts the last two plays, written in London under the influence of German expressionism, on the same level as the two great Dublin plays. Reading the bits quoted from the "Silver Tassie" controversy one has the feeling that Yeats was right after all.

Ernest Blythe, former Minister for Finance—it was he who granted the state subsidy to the Abbey—analyzes the Gaelic drama or rather the reasons why there is none as yet. The first Gaelic play to be performed on any stage was Dr. Douglas Hyde's "Casadh an tSugáin." It is amusing to note that in plot it resembles "The Man Who Came to Dinner." In the original production in 1901 the author—now President of Eire—played the Irish Woollcott. Lennox Robinson, the editor, does not explain why Denis Johnston's lecture on Modern Tendencies, which appears in the schedule, is omitted in this publication. The best thing in the book is Robinson's own loving and amiable portrait of Lady Gregory. Last and least is Michael MacLiammoir's talk on Problem Plays, which is chatty and inadequate.

Altogether the nine essays furnish a somewhat sedate account of the thirty years' war which was waged to make an Irish National Theater in the teeth of the Irish Nationalists.

ROBERT VAMBERY

Science in Society

MODERN SCIENCE. By Hyman Levy. Alfred A. Knopf. $5.

THIS huge book is not altogether what its title suggests. True, there is science in it; but Levy, being primarily a mathematician, discusses mathematics and physics but no biology. Nor does the title suggest that around the principle of indeterminacy, as outlined by physicists, Levy has built a philosophy which supplies an answer to such mystics as Eddington and Jeans. What proves to be the chief merit of the book, the impact of science on society—and the reverse—is not indicated either.

Let me say at once that the strictly scientific portions of the book add little to the knowledge of a mathematician or a physicist and are beyond the grasp of many "intelligent" laymen. In that respect Levy has succeeded no better than Hogben. What makes Levy's book the important contribution that it is, is its presentation of science as a chapter in human society.

It has taken the younger scientists of England—Bernal, Haldane, Hogben, Levy—accelerated by Russian catalysts, to proclaim to the public that the roots of scientific activity lie in the social scene in which scientists live; that there is a give and take, an action and reaction, in which the scientist contributes a chapter to social development and is in turn molded by the society of which he is a part. Much follows from such a point of view: the desirability of a planned economy in and out of science; the emphasis on the scientist as a citizen and not as a bundle of feelingless cells apart from the rest of mankind; the right of this citizen-scientist to cast his vote in behalf of a society which will use his science for constructive and not destructive purposes; a revised system of education

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for scientist and non-scientist, stressing the function of science in society; and so forth.

Levy's book, taken in conjunction with an earlier volume by Bernal ("The Social Function of Science"), is bound to have far-reaching effects. Not following in the footsteps of the traditional "popularizers" of science, who aimed to "explain" science but merely succeeded in confusing and mystifying the public, the author, whose success in simplifying science is probably no greater—he makes no attempt to write down to his audience—has given science its social setting.

It is but fair to Professor Levy, whose book has afforded me much pleasure, to be somewhat more specific with regard to the content of "Modern Science." The emphasis in the opening chapters stresses the relationship between the social and economic background and scientific activity. At each stage in the evolutionary development of society technical needs are tackled by the scientists of the day. Beginning with the seventeenth century, an added factor came into play. Men of wealth, belonging more specifically to the "leisure" class, began to concern themselves not merely with the pressing needs of society but with the theoretical basis of science. To this group belonged men like Boyle, Newton, and Lavoisier.

This "theoretical" or "philosophical" discussion leads to a study of nature and natural change and an attempt to detect certain regularities. From such regularities spring physical laws, which "are statements of what can be regularly expected in certain specified conditions." Levy attempts to apply such knowledge to a study of the behavior of human beings in the mass. "Regularities" in physical science represent the average behavior of many individual particles. "We seek statistical uniformity since we recognize atomic diversity." Is it not possible to detect such "regularities" in human behavior? Beyond a statement of question, little has so far been accomplished, by Levy or by anybody else.

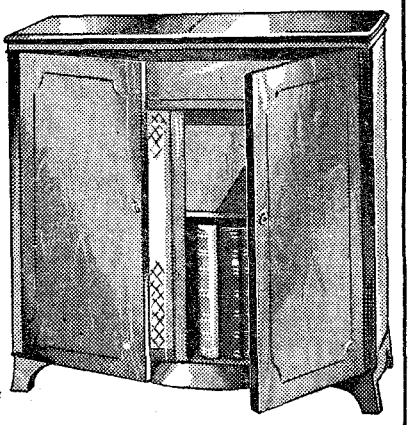
Many chapters of the book are devoted to various divisions of physics and mathematics: types of energy; numbers, including calculus; Newtonian laws; the physics of the airplane (Levy is an authority in this field); astronomy; geology; gravitation and the structure of space; nuclear physics; the principle of indeterminacy (a good description, for it disposes of a great deal of nonsense); light; the photoelectric cell. These scientific topics are very well handled, but a literary acquaintance of mine still finds the discussion "above his head."

In the epilogue, entitled Science in Travail, the history of the scientific method is summarized. The first phase results in the substitution of natural law for mystical dogma. The second phase emphasizes the mechanical approach to nature, in which the universe is viewed as a vast machine. The third and present phase results from the discovery that the laws of nature are essentially statistical; regularities on the large scale exist side by side "with an indiscriminate medley of movement on the small scale" (the "small scale" applying to subatomic phenomena). This has led to much confusion even within the ranks of scientists. Levy proposes a way out: the application of the dialectical method. Maybe.

I consider Levy's book a kind of pituitary hormone which stimulates the organs of the body. It is the work of a scholar touched by imagination.

BENJAMIN HARROW

A DREAM? *Yes and No*



★ LAFAYETTE
Chippendale
RADIO-PHONOGRAPH
$139.95

Custom Built
WITH GARRARD AUTOMATIC RECORD CHANGER

★ It's a dream if you mean the Chippendale cabinet—so rich in 18th Century charm. And there's something about the tonal beauty of this Lafayette radio-phonograph that's out of this world. The features you'll find in its 11 tube radio, the feather-quiet action of the Garrard automatic Record Changer—these are things engineers dream of. But if you mean the price, $139.95, for all this luxury listening—that's no dream! Someday soon, see and hear Chippendale Combination Model BB-14W come true. It's one of 64.

LAFAYETTE RADIOS
100 SIXTH AVENUE • NEW YORK, N. Y.

BRONX, N. Y....542 E. Fordham Rd.
JAMAICA, L. I....90-08 166th Street
CHICAGO, ILL. 901 W. Jackson Blvd,
NEWARK, N. J...24 Central Ave.
BOSTON, MASS..110 Federal St,
ATLANTA, GA. 265 Peachtree St,

SPRING BOOK ISSUE

In Defense of Belles Lettres by *Louise Bogan*

The Ultimatum, a Story by *Franz Hoellering*

Writers in the Wilderness, by *Margaret Marshall*
III. Katherine Anne Porter

William Faulkner's "The Hamlet"
Reviewed by *Louis Kronenberger*

A. E. Housman's "Collected Poems"
Reviewed by *Morton Dauwen Zabel*

Ernest Sutherland Bates's "American Faith"
Reviewed by *Reinhold Niebuhr*

Lancelot Hogben's "Dangerous Thoughts"
Reviewed by *Jacques Barzun*

Other reviews by *Rustem Vambery, Douglas Haskell, W. E. Woodward.*

In the Same Issue

Where Voting Costs Money: What the Poll Tax Means to the South by *Maury Maverick*

The Navy America Needs by *George T. Davis*

Next Week in *The Nation*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

China Old and New

NEWS IS MY JOB. By Edna Lee Booker. The Macmillan Company. $3.

NINETEEN years ago Edna Lee Booker arrived in Shanghai, an eager journalist scarcely out of her teens. A year ago last summer she made a hazardous journey to Hankow just before its occupation by the Japanese in order to see Generalissimo and Madam Chiang Kai-shek. In the interval between she covered most of the chief events in China as a correspondent for the International News Service and managed to interview all the more important Chinese leaders. The story of her experiences, entertainingly written, provides what is undoubtedly the most readable account of the last two decades of Chinese history to be found anywhere. Woven into the story is a graphic description of Chinese ways of life in the interior, as well as of that special world—the Shanghai foreign community—of which she was a part.

Miss Booker's first year in China was marked by incredible good fortune. The first Chinese woman of her acquaintance was Mei-ling Soong, who later became Madam Chiang Kai-shek. Miss Soong was of inestimable aid in guiding her through the maze of Chinese politics. A few months after her arrival it became evident that China was headed for one of the more serious of the civil wars that periodically disturbed the country throughout the twenties. Her home office instructed her to proceed to the interior and seek interviews with each of the outstanding leaders of the day, including President Hsu Shih-chang, Chang Tso-lin, Wu Pei-fu, and Dr. Sun Yat-sen. None of these men, except possibly Sun Yat-sen, had ever been interviewed by a woman journalist. All had secluded themselves to prepare for the coming conflict and seemed wholly inaccessible. Just as the prospect looked hopeless, Miss Booker succeeded in persuading Chang Hsueh-liang to arrange an interview for her with Chang Tso-lin. Once the Manchurian war lord had capitulated, every door opened to her as if by magic. She was invited to stay in Wu Pei-fu's home during the first days of the war, and within a fortnight had interviews with President-to-be Tsao Kun, ex-President Li Yuang-hung, Feng Yu-hsiang, and Yen Hsi-shan. On one occasion an attack on her train by bandits gave her an unwelcome scoop. A few weeks later she went south to Canton, arriving on the evening of the coup which drove Sun Yat-sen into temporary retirement. Since she was the only foreign journalist in Canton at the time her story of that event scooped the other press services by twenty-four hours. Despite the war she managed to see Sun Yat-sen and also Eugene Chen and a young, relatively unknown officer by the name of Chiang Kai-shek.

No assignment in subsequent years quite matched this initial roundup of Chinese leaders. Miss Booker became Mrs. John S. Potter and withdrew from some of the more strenuous forms of journalism. But she continued to be active and has written a striking summary of the chief events of China's growth into a modern nation. Her trip to Hankow in the summer of 1938 provides a fitting climax to the main narrative, and introduces the new China which has risen out of the anguish of the war.

This section is all too brief. Readers who are interested primarily in the war should be advised to look elsewhere. But those who want a broad perspective, or a reliable account of the little-known events of the early twenties, will find a mine of information and keen enjoyment in the memoirs of this brilliant woman journalist.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

Death Chamber

AGENT OF DEATH: THE MEMOIRS OF AN EXECUTIONER. By Robert G. Elliott with Albert R. Beatty. E. P. Dutton and Company. $3.

IT TAKES approximately two thousand volts of electricity applied for about two minutes to snuff out a human life. Unconsciousness is produced in 1/240 of a second. It is a painless death, quicker and more merciful than the lethal chamber. If you are tubercular or have a large heart, you are more difficult to electrocute. Most victims are less than thirty years old and walk into the death chamber numb with fear, although one man dozed off in his cell and had to be awakened so that he could be electrocuted. No alcohol or drugs are ever given to a condemned person. Practically all occupants of the electric chair protest their innocence. A few perform acts of bravado. Women, when faced with the chair, react no differently from men. All those about to die order elaborate last meals, but few eat them.

These are some of the pertinent observations made by the man who "threw the switch which hurled into eternity 387 occupants of the electric chair, the largest number of human beings that any executioner had put to death by electrical current." In his unusual book he tells about himself, his profession, and the people he put to death. When the first legal electrocution took place in this country at Clinton Prison, Dannemora, New York, in 1890, Robert Elliott was sixteen years old. He was very much interested in the event. His parents, farmers and pious Methodists, wanted him to be a minister. He wanted to be an electrical engineer. Although he never reached this goal, he did become an electrician. His work as such in various state prisons led to his association with Davis, New York's first electrocutioner, whom he eventually succeeded.

Robert Elliott was a simple man, happy with his children and grandchildren and well thought of by his neighbors. A religious man, he never uttered a curse and never failed to pray for those he was about to kill. He was happy if a reprieve was granted. He was opposed to capital punishment because he was convinced that it failed to justify its alleged purpose—prevention of crime. He points out that in some instances convicts subsequently committed crimes that sent them to the very chair they had assisted in preparing for others.

In his work as executioner for the states of New York, New Jersey, Vermont, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and Massachusetts, Elliott saw Sacco, Vanzetti, Hauptmann, Ruth Snyder, Judd Grey, and scores of others die, and he has set down in a surprisingly succinct and vivid manner how they acted, how they looked, and what they said as they faced death. It makes a dramatic recital.

GEORGE JOEL

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DRAMA

After Twenty Years

MOST plays of the present century do not stand any too well the ordeal by revival. Many of even the best have a way of seeming surprisingly old-fashioned when they are put back on the stage, and sometimes they embarrass acutely their most ardent champions. Ferenc Molnar's "Liliom" is not, I think, one of the best plays of the century, but at least one thing may be said of it—it is still astonishingly viable. Thirty years after its first night in Budapest and nineteen after the first showing in New York, it seems in the production now current at the Forty-fourth Street Theater hardly like a revival at all. If it creaks a bit here and there, it creaked a bit back in 1921 when Eva Le Gallienne played Julie to Joseph Schildkraut's Liliom; and those critics—newspaper opinion is divided—who complain that a fine play has been somehow cheapened are only, I think, comparing a present reality with a fond memory which comes down from the days when they were rather more easily impressed. "Liliom" remains what it always was—a bit hollow in its profundities and a bit sticky in its sentiment but enormously clever, resourceful, and theatrically effective.

Probably that smooth boulevardier its author took the play rather more seriously than any he had previously written or than any he has written since, but I doubt that even he ever removed his tongue very far from the inside of his cheek while detailing this story of a kind-hearted tough who lovingly beats his wife because his own tenderness always embarrasses him. Take the final scene in which the hero, released from purgatory to do one kind deed, steals a star from heaven to give to his daughter and then slaps her when he bungles the presentation. Try—it has been done—to interpret in all solemnity the symbolism of that incident, and the whole thing becomes absurd. But take it, like all the rest of the play, merely as a bit of theatrical ingenuity, and it becomes instead the unexpected twist plainly required for a final "curtain."

As a matter of fact, the whole play is only a series of such "twists," and it alternates satire with sentiment, melodrama with pathos, farcical caricature with attempts at sober realism. Perhaps the best scene of all is that on the railroad tracks, where the contrast between the imaginative Liliom and his matter-of-fact companion is nearly first-rate; perhaps the second best scene is that of elaborately worked-up pathos in which Julie weeps by the body of her husband. But in one respect the author is completely without conscience. He is careful only to extract at each moment the full theatrical effectiveness of every incident without caring in the least if that means broad burlesque at one moment and something like realism the next. Neither, for that matter, does he even care whether or not he always knows himself to what extent he is sincere. And yet the fact remains that he succeeds fully within the limits which the attempt itself sets. One laughs at the burlesque, one feels oneself tighten during the melodrama, and unless one is very careful indeed one is likely to be affected by the sentimental scenes.

Perhaps I was not the only spectator to be reminded that in theme and in sentimental attitude "Liliom" is really a pre-war version of John Steinbeck's novel and play "Of Mice and Men." The chief difference is that while Mr. Steinbeck took his theme with complete seriousness, Mr. Molnar was plainly quite aware that his business was to pull an audience's collective leg. Ingrid Bergman, the Swedish actress who has appeared here in the movies but is making a first appearance on the English-speaking stage, is pretty and pleasing if perhaps a bit pale in the role of Julie. John Emery does a fine bit as the romantic Wolf, and Burgess Meredith plays Liliom with more boyishness and less swagger than Schildkraut used to assume.

"Ladies in Retirement" (Henry Miller's Theater) is an English horror play with the virtues and defects of a genre recently made familiar by such pieces as "Night Must Fall" and, to cite the best of the lot, the eerie "Kind Lady" in which Grace George made something of a sensation a few seasons back. Admirably acted by a splendid cast including Flora Robson as star and Estelle Winwood, who, incidentally, gives her best performance in years, the present piece manages not only to achieve considerable tension but to remain believable as well. In such plays the English, of course, rely less than we upon mere blood and thunder, while going in a good deal more seriously for characterization and psychology. Here we have an aging spinster in a lonely house who murders her benefactor in order to provide a home for her own eccentric sisters; and if the conclusion were managed as well as most of the action the result would be something almost as memorable as "Kind Lady." Even as it stands, "Ladies in Retirement" is quite the best thing of its kind seen here in some time, and it is only a pity that the end, which is logical enough, comes suddenly and without the final climax which we are plainly led to expect. The intention is certainly to end on a note of grotesque horror. The more or less normal people are to be eliminated one by one until the most clearly and most sinisterly insane of the lot—the two dotty sisters—are left in possession. This is, indeed, what actually happens, but it happens so suddenly and so easily that what should have been a climax is almost an anti-climax instead. A real struggle of some sort just before the end would transform the effect of the whole piece.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

BOOKS

Just published in the

MODERN LIBRARY

The Prince

and

The Discourses of Machiavelli

These are Machiavelli's two greatest works. They have never before been printed in a single volume. The texts are complete; the introduction is by MAX LERNER of Williams College, and until recently editor of *The Nation*.

95¢ At all bookstores. Other new Modern Library titles include books by Vincent Sheean, John P. Marquand, Ludwig Lewisohn, James Farrell, Lin Yutang, etc. Send for a FREE complete list of 270 titles. MODERN LIBRARY, Dept. N, 20 E. 57 St., N. Y. C.

SPECIAL $1.00 OFFER

MARRIAGE & MORALS, by Bertrand Russell 79c

OUR BATTLE, by Hendrik W. van Loon. His famous answer to Hitler. ($1.00 list.) 30c

One dollar brings these 2 books mailed anywhere in U.S.A. Otherwise add 5c per book.

DOWNTOWN BOOK BAZAAR
206 Broadway, corner Fulton St., New York, N. Y.

THEATRE

Special Preview Performance

MEDICINE SHOW

by Oscar Saul and H. R. Hays

SATURDAY EVENING, APRIL 6

New Yorker Theatre, 54 St. W. of B'way.

Tickets on sale at Box Office on night of performance.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MUSIC

WITHIN a few days New Yorkers had opportunities to experience those tonal wonders of the age—the playing of the Boston Symphony under Koussevitzky and that of the Philadelphia under Stokowski. The two conductors are extraordinary virtuosos in their medium; but there the similarity ends. The surprising continence of Koussevitzky's performance of Beethoven's First was a measure of his growth as a musician, the greater refinement of his taste in the presentation of older music; whereas Stokowski's increasingly lurid performances are a measure of his deterioration. And it was Koussevitzky's passionate love of music, his passionate desire to make the points in Strauss's "Don Quixote" as effective as possible, that caused him to kill them with overemphasis; but the hash Stokowski made of the Good Friday music of "Parsifal," among other things, represented his insensitiveness and indifference to anything in music but the opportunities it offers to produce gorgeous sounds and stunning effects with lush movements of his hands.

Stokowski at least offers the excitement of virtuosity, such as one gets from Horowitz on the piano or Heifetz on the violin; but Barbirolli does not offer even that to compensate for the musical defects of his performances and the wretchedness of his programs. If a director of an art gallery were to exhibit its collection defaced by his retouching the public clamor would cause him to be thrown out within a week. But Barbirolli, for four seasons, has been defacing Beethoven, Brahms, and in fact all the music in which he does not feel the restrictions imposed by the style of Haydn and Mozart; the press has been sour; even placid Friday afternoon dowagers have been moved to cancel subscriptions; yet he has been reengaged for two years, and the great New York Philharmonic Orchestra will celebrate its hundredth anniversary by exhibiting to an unadmiring world the mediocrity it has descended to under his direction.

Nor is the reengagement more surprising, more conscienceless than the first engagement. Barbirolli was brought here to share the season of 1936-37 with several other conductors, but was engaged as sole permanent conductor after only a few weeks, before Enesco and Rodzinski had been heard and had demonstrated their overwhelming superiority; and this happened not because of any irresistible brilliance that Barbirolli exhibited in those few weeks, but because it did not take the manager of the orchestra, the directors, and the orchestra itself longer to discover that he was a man who in various ways made life pleasant for them—pleasanter for the orchestra, for example, than Rodzinski, who when he took charge later in the season had occasion not only to speak sharply about the deterioration in its playing but, worse still, to act vigorously about it and to make the orchestra act vigorously. Barbirolli may do terrible things to music; but one can well understand how to Mr. Judson, to Mr. Field and Mrs. Pratt, and to the orchestra it would be more important that life be made pleasant for them than that music be well treated.

In his new 'Cello Concerto—recently given its first American performances by Piatigorsky and the Boston Symphony—Prokofiev uses all the resources of his technique as ways of going through elaborate motions of saying a great deal when he is saying absolutely nothing. And it is not surprising that this grand-mannered pretense should impress the Soviet Russian critic Kuznetzov who is quoted in the program notes as having disapproved of the "salon spirit" of the charming "Peter and the Wolf," as having demanded of a composer of Prokofiev's stature nothing less than "earnestness and fidelity to himself," and as having observed that the concerto "re-creates successively the main stages of Prokofiev's inner evolution. This is not a panorama, but a synthesized, integrated picture. . . . The present Prokofiev is not yet as clearly discernible as the 'early Prokofiev' or the 'middle-of-the-road' Prokofiev. The Violoncello Concerto bears testimony of this. Its strongest points are in retrospection, totalizing the stages passed by the composer, rather than in its forward perspective. Prokofiev's creative crisis has not been solved, and it cannot be solved without protracted and concentrated effort."

Terms like "main stages of . . . evolution," "retrospection, totalizing the stages," "forward perspective," "crisis" refer to nothing in Prokofiev's music and to nothing that can be said in description or judgment of it; they are merely terms which are considered proper for criticism in Russia, because of the proper ideas about the close relation of art to economics (they recall a *Daily Worker* article some years ago on "A. F. of L.-ism in Music"). As such they are ways of going through required motions; and in this respect they are like the "formalism," "scholasticism," "didacticism" that were applied to Eisenstein, and also like the revolting epithets applied by workers in factories and scientists in laboratories to the Finns, or the revolting hymns of praise to "the peace policy of the Soviet Union, which always respects the rights of small nations." I refer to these political manifestations to make clear what is of concern to me as a critic: the fact that the same enslavement and degradation of the mind (in a country in which no man may own a factory or a bank, so that other men's minds may not be enslaved and degraded) produce writing about the arts for which—if one is sensitive to intellectual rigor and integrity, and to their opposites—one needs the same strong stomach.

B. H. HAGGIN

LATEST RECORDS

IMPORTED

RUSSIAN RECORDS!

BY

Modern Russian Composers

Song of the Plains

Red Moscow

Kalinka

From Border to Border

Cossack's Song

and many others

SEND FOR COMPLETE LIST N

Phone CH 2-6744 OPEN EVENINGS

O. PAGANI & BRO.

289 Bleecker Street, corner 7th Avenue
New York, N. Y.

In Early Issues of

THE *Nation*

Mr. Pitt and America's Birthright

BY J. C. LONG

Reviewed by Rustem Vambery

The French Yellow Book

Reviewed by Robert Dell

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters to the Editors

Law and the Covenant

Dear Sirs: In your excellent editorial Peace Is a Weapon in *The Nation* of March 23 you say that if the Allies had forced their way through Sweden and Norway to go to the aid of Finland, they would have committed a breach of international law. I think you are mistaken.

In its resolution of December 14, 1939, the League Assembly declared that the U. S. S. R. had been guilty of an aggression against Finland and had violated not only its special political agreements with that country but also Article 12 of the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Pact of Paris. The resolution also appealed to every member of the League "to provide Finland with such material and humanitarian assistance as may be in its power and to refrain from any action which might weaken Finland's power of resistance."

It follows that, by the provisions of Article 16, paragraph 1, of the League Covenant, the U. S. S. R. "committed an act of war against all other members of the League," who were bound individually to resort to economic, financial, and diplomatic sanctions against the U. S. S. R. and had the right to resort to military sanctions. The application of sanctions does not require any decision of the Council or the Assembly, and there was no such decision in the Abyssinian affair in 1935.

It also follows that Sweden and Norway were bound by paragraph 3 of Article 16 to "take the necessary steps to afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the members of the League which are cooperating to protect the covenants of the League." It is true that in voting for the resolution of December 14 the delegations of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway declared "that they made every reservation in so far as the resolution involved any measure coming within the scope of the system of sanctions," but this reservation did not relieve them of their obligations under Article 16 of the League Covenant. Even if they had given notice of withdrawal from the League, they would have continued to be bound by those obligations for two years. It is too often forgotten that the Covenant of the League of Nations is a treaty which is just as binding on its signatories as any other treaty.

The British and French governments would, therefore, have been legally justified in forcing a passage through Sweden and Norway for their troops going to the aid of Finland, whether the Swedish and Norwegian governments liked it or not. Whether it would have been wise and expedient to take this course is another matter.

In my opinion, the British and French governments ought to have decided to give military aid to Finland as soon as that country was invaded, to have immediately begun preparations for such aid, and to have informed the Council of the League of Nations when it met at Geneva—at least privately—that they proposed to apply military sanctions against Russia and expected Sweden and Norway to fulfil their obligations under Article 16, paragraph 3, of the Covenant. It would then have been more difficult for Sweden and Norway to refuse than it was later on.

It is also my opinion that although the expulsion of the U. S. S. R. from the League was perfectly justified, it was a mistake—and an illogical mistake—to expel it without applying sanctions.

ROBERT DELL

New York, March 21

The Irish "Thrubble"

Dear Sirs: Florence M. Baker's article called De Valera's Dilemma in your issue of March 9 is a clear and concise exposition of some of the main problems that confront Ireland. It is too bad the editors of *The Nation* didn't render the author better assistance by omitting the harsh cartoon that accompanied it. Borrowing the old British eighteenth- and nineteenth-century cartooning of the ape-Irishman does not so much enlighten as antagonize.

Miss Baker's article amply confirms my own opinions regarding the conditions she touched upon. The outcome may be similar to what took place in France or perhaps more like the Spanish and Mexican internal explosions. No doubt she knows that Ireland is at a terrific disadvantage as compared to the countries mentioned because for generations two sets of Christian loyalties have competed there—subserviency to the Pope and his minions, and to the British crown and its minions, with complete understanding between the Pope and the crown, and complete misunderstanding between the competing faithfuls, which may or may not have been planned that way.

In my opinion the I. R. A. represents a fermentation in the minds of a powerful Irish minority who know something is the matter and are determined to find out what by clearing the decks of the Irish ship of state, both North and South, of all British interference. Then when the alleged bogy of English oppression is laid, it should be easy to identify the real oppressor. I for one should like to have a box seat to watch Holy Ireland in action.

RICHARD BARRETT

Gary, Indiana, March 20

Working for the Wealthy

Dear Sirs: There is one problem which is never mentioned in the daily press or even the liberal magazines. That is the plight of the large number of workers on the private estates of the wealthy.

A few employers, of course, really did lose a large part of their fortunes in the crash of 1929. Of these we do not expect anything. Also a few, like the du Ponts of Delaware, whatever their other sins, do treat their help quite lavishly. These places have been truly described in Ferdinand Lundberg's "America's Sixty Families." But the majority seem to have no civic pride, public spirit, or social conscience whatever. The wealthy and patriotic citizens make no attempt to solve the unemployment problem even in their own communities, which depend greatly on employment and trade from the estates. Instead they have added to the problem by reducing their staffs drastically and cutting wages to a subhuman level. At the approach of winter they take mean advantage of unemployment insurance by unnecessary lay-offs of day laborers When these men return in the spring they must catch up with the work as best they can. Yet on Long Island work can be carried on outdoors during most of the winter. A great many tasks have been neglected or skimped in recent years. Thousands of acres of woodland have not yet been cleared of the debris of the hurricane of 1938.

Conditions in servants' wings and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

men's quarters are often deplorable. Poor and scanty food, small stuffy rooms, dirt, antiquated plumbing and heating systems (or no heat) are not uncommon. Everything for the "help" is skimped. Some of our local merchants and small business men still blame Roosevelt and the New Deal for their trade troubles; but we who are close to the wealthy know, if we are honest, that the real cause of economic distress, in this section at least, is a monstrous sit-down strike of capital. Thousands of dollars are wasted on automobiles, parties, trips abroad or to the South and West, gifts to the Republican Party, etc., but a few hundred cannot be spent to give steady work through the winter, on jobs crying to be done, to faithful workmen. R. M.

New York, March 20

Southern Strikers Need Help

Dear Sirs: Twelve hundred luggage workers, who with their families total more than five thousand persons, are now in the eighth week of a bitter strike against the American Hardware Company of Petersburg, Virginia. We have been forced to wage this strike in defense of our elementary right of collective bargaining, for the preservation of our union, and for a little more decent working conditions.

The American Hardware Company is the largest trunk and luggage firm in the country and sells its products to the most important department stores, chain stores, and mail-order houses in the country. It charges the same prices for its merchandise as other luggage manufacturers, yet our wages are less than half as much as the wages of other luggage workers. Most of our workers, including mechanics with twenty-five or more years' experience as skilled trunk makers, are getting between 30 and 40 cents an hour and making on the average, while working, about $14 a week.

When the strike was called on January 30, in spite of the unusually bitter cold that then prevailed our people walked out nearly 100 per cent. Since then the company has obtained injunctions against us limiting our pickets to three at the entrance and restraining us from all kinds of legitimate strike activities. Many strikers have been arrested and fined $50 each on some trumped-up charge, and a number have jail sentences hanging over them.

The union's main problem from the beginning has been to feed the strikers and their families and to give them fuel. So in the first week of the strike we opened a special strike kitchen and a commissary. We are also distributing wood, coal, or oil.

Lately a concerted drive has been started by the landlords to press the strikers for rent, threatening them with evictions; also the electric-light company is threatening to shut off their lights and in some cases has already done it, and the city authorities are pressing them for water bills. The strikers are also beset by loan sharks, who have been charging them about 50 per cent interest and are now threatening to take away their furniture. A great deal of sickness is prevalent, and we must take care of their medical requirements. Many of the strikers need to have their shoes repaired and a new pair of overalls provided in order that they may go on the picket line.

The American Hardware Company is hoping to break the morale of the strikers and force them into submission, but the workers are full of courage and determination to continue the strike until they can obtain a fair and just settlement. However, if they are to hold out, they must have financial assistance. We have received substantial aid from organized luggage workers throughout the country and have also had donations from the American Federation of Labor, the International Ladies' Garment Workers, and other local unions, but our needs are so great that we must appeal to all friends of labor, particularly to those who are interested in a strong labor movement in the South, to help us win this strike.

Please make checks payable to Luggage Workers' Union, Local 52, 18 Leigh Building, Petersburg, Virginia.

E. A. BARKER, President
C. A. HALL, Secretary-Treasurer

Petersburg, Va., March 28

Independent Artists' Show

Dear Sirs: Since 1917 the Society of Independent Artists annually has brought a long line of hitherto unappreciated painters and sculptors to the attention of museum directors, collectors, and gallery owners. But there is another important function which the forthcoming exhibition will again perform, not only for the artist, but for the general public as well.

The Works Progress Administration did not see fit to sell at modest prices the paintings and sculpture produced under its auspices, but there is still one way by which the average American can possess original works of art at a price within his income. The exhibition which the Society of Independent Artists will open in the galleries of the American Fine Arts Society on April 19 offers this opportunity to the public. By cultivating his taste so that he can recognize a good painting or a fine piece of sculpture, even without a famous label, the intelligent man or woman can acquire at a moderate price what may very well be the artistic discovery of tomorrow.

Meanwhile, the society offers for the twenty-fourth time an invitation to men and women, professional and non-professional, to submit paintings or sculpture, with the assurance that every work will be accepted and hung in strict alphabetical order. The no-jury, no-prize basis on which the society was founded has permitted numerous artists to exhibit who had been refused by galleries that were later proud to hang their works. JOHN SLOAN, President

New York, March 27

CONTRIBUTORS

ROBERT DELL was for many years the correspondent of *The Nation* and the Manchester *Guardian* at Geneva. He is now lecturing in this country.

RICHARD H. ROVERE is a free-lance writer living in New York.

EDGAR M. JONES is a Washington newspaperman who for several years has paid special attention to radio problems and the duties of the FCC. His work appears in various trade papers.

JOHN PEALE BISHOP, poet and critic, is the author of "Now with His Love" and "Minute Particulars."

ROBERT VAMBERY has written several plays and served as dramatic adviser to a Berlin theater.

BENJAMIN HARROW is professor of biochemistry at the College of the City of New York.

GEORGE JOEL is on the staff of the Dial Press.

INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS

THE NATION, 55 Fifth Ave., New York. Price, 15 cents a copy. By subscription—Domestic: One year $5; Two years $8; Three years $11. Additional Postage per year: Foreign, $1; Canadian, 50 cents. The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Dramatic Index, Index to Labor Periodicals, Public Affairs Information Service. Two weeks' notice and the old address as well as the new are required for change of address.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED